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BALTIMORE AS SEEN BY MOREAU DE SAINT-MÉRY IN 1794¹

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I. A TRIP FROM NORFOLK TO BALTIMORE BY WATER²

May 15, 1794. In Norfolk³ there are two packets or passenger boats that go to Baltimore, and in the latter city two with Norfolk their destination.

These exceedingly fine sailing boats or schooners are not only very nicely fitted up, but have delightful cabins. The passage is eight dollars and a half (48 francs), a price that includes meals when the trip takes a short time, and they calculate the provisions in that hypothesis. On May 15, 1794, as I have already stated, we left Norfolk about ten in the morning on the schooner *President*, com-

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² Born at Fort Royal, Martinique, on Jan. 13, 1750, Médéric-Louis-Elie Moreau de Saint-Méry received his legal education in Paris, then returned to the West Indies where he settled in Cap Français. Sent to France in an official capacity, he was elected a representative to the States-General when it assembled on April 23, 1789, became president of the body July 1st, played an important rôle in the organization of the Parisian militia on July 13th, and was charged with the distribution of arms and ammunition on the fateful day that followed. Resigning from the Commune, he became a member of the *Assemblée Constituante* as deputy from Martinique. When that body was dissolved, he fled to Normandy and took passage on the *Sophia*, an American brigantine, which sailed Nov. 9, 1793. Accompanying him were his wife, his son, and his daughter Amenaïde; Mme Dupuy, his sister, her three children, and their servant; M. Baudry de Lozières (later author of *Voyage à la Louisiane*, 1794-1798, Paris, 1802, 1803), Moreau's brother-in-law, and his wife (sister of Mme Moreau de Saint-Méry), their daughter and servant. The rest of the passengers made up sixteen in all. After a storm-tossed crossing of 119 days, the *Sophia* finally sighted the Virginia coast on March 5, 1794. Fuller data concerning Moreau de St. Méry together with his account of Norfolk, Portsmouth and Gosport, Virginia, in 1794, translated and edited by Fillmore Norfleet, appear in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, January, April, and October, 1940, issues. The sources are (1) Part I of the Introduction, pp. xiii-xxix, to Moreau de Saint-Méry's *Voyage aux Etats-Unis de l'Amérique*, 1793-1798, edited with notes and introduction by Stewart L. Mims, Yale University Press, 1913, and (2) the text itself, pp. 2-29).

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 80-99, printed by permission of Dr. S. L. Mims. The original manuscript is in the Collection Moreau de Saint-Méry, series F, vol. 123, Archives Coloniales, Paris.

manded by Captain Gold, and owned by Mr. Moses Myers,⁴ a Norfolk merchant.

Anchored at quarantine opposite the fort⁵ we found a vessel from Jérémie⁶ with smallpox aboard, an event that did not prevent our captain from accepting several passengers for Baltimore from the boat. Among them were M. Sompérat, from Jérémie, and M. Le Sassier, son of a *conseiller* from Louisiana, hence a compatriot of my wife. To the right a little beyond the fort is a large distillery that is being allowed to fall in ruins.

Craney Island,⁷ which always gives the appearance of being in the middle of the river as one sails away from Norfolk, made a pretty backdrop for a long while because of the calm that fell almost as we left the wharf. We were not able to pass the island until quarter after twelve.

At a quarter of two we were opposite Sewell's Point,⁸ and at a quarter after two we came abreast the French frigate *la Concorde*⁹ anchored in Hampton [Roads]. After another quarter of an hour we passed Point Comfort.

At three o'clock Cape Henry lighthouse appeared on our right, but very far in the distance. From this location the view was exceedingly beautiful, consisting, as it did, of the James River on one side, and the true entrance to Chesapeake Bay on the other.

We chose this moment to have dinner. On board were thirty-nine passengers of both sexes, of all ages, and even of all colors. Several who had no right to the captain's table had already completed their meal in different parts of the ship, and for more than one the repast had been a lesson in frugality rather than an opportunity to exercise an appetite generally whetted by the roll of the boat when it is not strong enough to make one ill.

So slowly did we progress that it was already four o'clock when we arrived off Back River Point.¹⁰

⁴ 1752-1835. Jewish, originally of New York; came to Norfolk about 1786 and established the shipping business of Myers & Company; later Danish vice-consul (1812), Dutch consul (1819), and collector of customs (1828).

⁵ Fort Norfolk, built in 1794 under the direction of the Italian engineer, John Jacob Ulrich Rivardi.

⁶ A town in the Department of the South, French Santo Domingo.

⁷ At the mouth of the Elizabeth River on the western side.

⁸ On the eastern shore of Hampton Roads.

⁹ One of the squadron sent by famine-ravished France to act as convoy for some 130 merchant ships loaded with provisions and assembling in American ports. Under Rear-Admiral Van Stable the ships-of-line had left Brest in December, 1793, and anchored in Chesapeake Bay Feb. 12, 1794. A. T. Mahan, *The Influence of Sea Power upon the French Revolution and Empire, 1793-1812*, vol. 1, pp. 122-123.

¹⁰ Near Thimble Shoal on the western side of lower Chesapeake Bay.

The excessive heat of the day, the play of the schooner's main-boom caused by the calm, the coolness that descended with the night, and the boredom produced by the slowness of our progress, all combined to make us think of looking for sleeping quarters, but only, however, after the appearance of tea, the customary substitute for an American supper.

The schooner's ten cabins were occupied by some fifteen people made up of a husband and wife or two children in a cabin; the remaining passengers were stretched out on the floor, on the deck, or near the hatches.

16. At five o'clock on the morning of the 16th, we were in the Chesapeake opposite the mouth of the Potomac, at this point 7 or 8 miles wide. We could even make out land to the right. The Potomac River is the boundary separating Virginia from Maryland. The calm had been so absolute we had been merely a plaything of the tides for the entire day. This annoying adversity made the captain decide to cast anchor at 7 o'clock.

A favorable wind having risen in the evening at 7, we weighed anchor, and, once in our cabins, congratulated ourselves for having regained what we had lost during the past 30 hours. At eleven o'clock, however, the wind changed to the north, and it became very cool. From then on, the wind continued to increase in violence, and by 2 o'clock in the morning we were being greatly tossed about by the sea. The schooner, overloaded as it was, had lost completely its quality of good sailing ship.

Huge waves that washed over the bow wet all passengers segregated on deck, causing them to scurry one by one into the cabins looking for refuge. The last to plead for a safe place to stay were some Negresses with their children, who were obliged, like the others, to seek protection. Moved to pity by their plight, a Colonist²¹ interceded not only for them but particularly for a little creature that he fondled much too tenderly for us not to notice that the color of the child's skin was mute evidence of its mother's fidelity to the gentleman. Because of the pathetic condition of these unfortunate people, it was as impossible not to receive them as not to forget the fine case of itch afflicting all, including the reputed father. Finally, the rough sea made it necessary to tack, and seek—losing all the while 14 miles—anchorage in a little bay at the mouth of the Patuxent, a river that empties into the Chesapeake 18 miles north of the mouth of the Potomac, which empties likewise into the Bay on

²¹ From the French West Indies.

the west side. We anchored very early in the morning and found that nine fishing boats, sailboats or schooners had already preceded us.

17. My son and I were among the several passengers to go ashore. The place was extremely barren, and yet we had scarcely gone half a mile when one of us killed a snake two and a half feet long. It was black and belonged to the poisonous variety called moccasin by the people in this country. As each of us vied with the other in hitting it with a stick, we saw emerge from its stomach at least twenty eggs of varying sizes.

Several promontories bordering this little bay, which extends east and west, are slightly elevated, especially those on the north side, which must rise at least 40 feet. The shores of this bay are sandy and bordered with pine trees. On the banks stand a few mediocre houses we took pains to examine. The passengers who had brought their guns ashore killed a few little birds, who thus paid with their lives for the delay caused by the wind. A farmer's wife obligingly gave us some excellent milk and then refused to take any money.

The land bordering the Patauxent is used for the cultivation of oats, rye, and tobacco. At the moment, however, they are experimenting with the cotton plant.

18. With the arrival of favorable weather, we set sail at eight o'clock in the evening, and arrived the following morning at the wharf in Baltimore, having keenly enjoyed the approach to the town, which comes into view by stages gradual enough to continually whet one's curiosity. Especially noticeable is the contrast between the right side, a section of the town call the Point,¹² which is nicely built up with new houses that are constantly growing in number, and the opposite side, a sheer bluff rising some fifty feet. A harbor well-filled with boats, ships ready to sail, and flags floating because of Sunday presented a gay scene, and the pleasure derived from this sight made us find everything even more interesting, despite the captain's thoughtless act of waiting until we had almost arrived before asking each passenger for his passage money.

Negroes, who were doubtless waiting around for the small tip they receive for carrying passengers' baggage, took possession of ours. After everybody had said adieu as though they had known each other for a long time, we reached the *Indian Queen*,¹³ an inn someone had said would suit us best.

¹² Fell's Point.

¹³ At the corner of Hanover and Baltimore Streets. In 1794 it was kept by Jacob Starck.

It took ninety-two hours to cover the distance between Norfolk and Baltimore—a hundred and ninety miles of Chesapeake Bay, a body of water that has all the characteristics and even all the dangers of an arm of the sea.

19. When evening arrived, we went for a walk to the Point in order to see some Colonists from Cap Français who were friends of ours. Others came to visit us. The following day we dined with Gauvain¹⁴ at Mad^e Ridgely's boarding house.

We returned a visit to the Colonists Séguin, Cambefort, Genty, my friend and former legal colleague at Cap Français, and Paradé, naval commissioner. I was greatly upset to learn that, while I was coming from Norfolk to Baltimore, my dear friend Berlin had gone down the Chesapeake on his way back to Santo Domingo.

In the afternoon we went for a walk in Howard's Park.

22. We left Baltimore in the morning for Philadelphia. Let us speak then of Baltimore.

BALTIMORE¹⁵

May 1794. This rather large town, the seat of a county bearing the same name, is situated on an arm of the Patapsco River and is the largest and most flourishing commercial port in Maryland. It extends from Harris Creek, on the south, to the large branch of the Patapsco, and each day it is increasing with astonishing rapidity.

Baltimore is divided into two parts by Jones' Falls or the North-west Branch, over which are three wooden bridges.

In 1787 the town had two thousand houses; in 1795 there were three thousand and most of these rather elegant brick buildings that sheltered more than fifteen thousand inhabitants of which a 10th were slaves.

The houses there, of brick and generally of two stories, are fronted by very fine sidewalks that have half their width taken up by entrances to cellars in which the storage rooms and kitchens are located. The sidewalk of the main street is ten feet wide.

The streets are broad, paved, and straight. They run from east

¹⁴ Jérôme Gauvain was then living in Baltimore. Much correspondence passed between the two friends. On April 14, 1794, Gauvain wrote announcing the arrival in Baltimore of Moreau's mother-in-law; on April 20th, Gauvain, the mother-in-law and "little Héloïse . . . with her colored nurse Sylvie" arrived in Norfolk; on April 26th "Gauvain left alone for Baltimore." Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Voyages*, pp. 48, 49.

¹⁵ Written by Moreau de Saint-Méry, doubtless from notes made during his brief stay in Baltimore, and inserted chronologically in the diary. Several references, with dates, to events subsequent to 1794 indicate that material was garnered from newspapers and other sources received after his return to France in 1798. The MS received its final revision about 1815.

to west along the north side of the Basin, and are cut by others at right angles, except a few that go in other directions. The same is true at the Point or Fell's Point. The principal thoroughfare, which crosses the city from east to west, is about eighty feet wide and is called Baltimore Street. The other streets vary from 30 to 80 feet, and Holliday,¹⁶ where the new theatre¹⁷ is located, is almost a hundred feet wide. Some of them bear names that seem to be monuments of gratitude. Certainly the one named Fayette substantiates this.

Carts gather refuse in the streets.

Looking north from Baltimore Street one sees the courthouse beneath which a vault forms a passageway for carriages. This building is two stories high with a wooden balcony and pediment facing Calvert, the street this building terminates. The jail is west of the courthouse. Not all land within the city limits is built up, for here and there gardens are visible. The town is divided into 130 streets, small streets, and alleys; everything, in fact, is laid out properly with future streets—already named—so that the present number of buildings will be tripled, so to speak. The most densely settled part is from Howard Street to Jones' Falls on the east.

Particularly noticeable in Baltimore are many dovecotes and small wall-holes that give asylum to swallows, the people believing that the bird's affection for a house increases prosperity for him who lives within. Thus is the idea of hospitality extended to timid beings linked with what the people believe is the reward: longevity. It would be pleasant to pardon superstition, if no greater errors might be blamed on it. The public buildings in Baltimore are, besides the courthouse and the prison, 3 markets, a poor house, 2 banks—the Bank of Maryland and the Bank of the United States, the Exchange,¹⁸ and a theatre. The courthouse is built of brick.

The principal streets of Baltimore are lighted by lamps similar to those found in other American cities and all of English design.

Saddle-horses in Baltimore are quite handsome, but draught horses are much more in evidence. They are hitched in pairs, and sometimes even by 4's, fives, and sixes, to wagons or carts by means of iron chains. The neat condition of the harness and the carriages themselves bespeaks the scrupulous exactitude of the owners.

¹⁶ Moreau dutifully adds an explanatory "du Dimanche."

¹⁷ The first Holliday Street Theatre, erected in 1794.

¹⁸ In 1794 "an effort was made by a number of merchants to open an 'Exchange' for the transactions of business, and buildings at the northwest corner of Lombard and Exchange Alley . . . were fitted up and used for the purpose . . ." Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County*, p. 437.

In Maryland are stallions with pedigrees that are published with much fanfare. The price of having a mare served begins at 24 francs, the groom's labors costing an additional 30 or 40 sous. Feed for a horse amounts to 3 francs a week.

The land on which the town of Baltimore is located has two slopes, one from west to east, and the other from north to south. The first is forty feet high; the second is also rather tall.

At the base of this southward sloping hill is the port, which, from the formation of the land, is a kind of basin made by means of three successive narrows formed by peninsulas—lying opposite each other—that begin at the town and terminate at what is really the end of Chesapeake Bay. This body of water, about three thousand *toises*¹⁹ long, runs almost north-west and north-east.

If the scheme for the construction of this Basin is carried out entirely, there will be houses on three of its sides, and the Point, jutting out the farthest and forming the fourth side, will obtain the lion's share. Wharves or quays already occupy portions of the port's 4 sides.

This Basin is from 6 to 7 feet deep. At the Point there is anchorage for vessels of 500 tons burden.

The wharves (for there is no *quai* in Baltimore) are always constructed for the convenience of their owners; because these piers jut out in the water there are, in the direction of the town, marshes dented with wide inlets, while neighboring wharves are just so many breakwaters. All this gives an air of disorder to a place that strict adherence to alinement would not only correct but add one charm more.

Of the three markets in Baltimore, the principal one²⁰ is located at the end of the main street as one approaches the Chesapeake. Market days are Thursdays and Saturdays: on other days only butcher's meat and vegetables are sold.

There are eleven churches or temples in Baltimore proper, and one in the little district that forms Fell's Point or simply the Point. They are, namely 1 German Reformed, 2 German Lutherans, 1 German Calvinist, 1 Anglican, 1 Presbyterian, 1 Mennonite, 1 Roman Catholic, 2 Methodists, 1 Anabaptist, and 1 Nicolite or New Quaker.

How people love to find religious liberty and respect for their conscience! And if the Creator has, among the marvels that continually excite our admiration, a thousand ways of speaking to the heart of man, why should there not be a thousand ways of singing his praises and expressing profound gratitude?

¹⁹ A *toise* is 6.3949 feet.

²⁰ Center Market, so known today.

The Point, its buildings much more modern than those of Baltimore, is increasing prodigiously. Its location on land suited to commercial purposes is the cause of this, and as it grows, the houses of Baltimore reach out toward it more and more, an inevitable sign that the two places will soon be joined. The space that separates them, like the one that corresponds on the other side of the harbor, is still very marshy, but constant work is diminishing this inconvenience, at least on the Point side.

The outskirts of the town to the east and west resemble almost all others in the United States of America.

The increase in population produced by the arrival of the Colonists from Santo Domingo,²¹ who, to mention it while passing, have been received with open arms by the inhabitants of this town, stirred neighboring gardeners to fresh activity; as a result, a quantity of flourishing and attractive gardens have sprung up here and there. But what gives Baltimore an air that is as pleasing as it is unique is a hill, owned by Colonel Howard, that dominates the town on the north. The main residence²² and its dependencies occupy the forward part, while a park embellishes the rear. The elevated situation, the mass of trees, an appearance that evokes, despite restraint, European ideas, produce a mixture of pleasure and regrets in real Frenchmen, and the mind and heart thus find themselves in a spot where they are utterly at home. On the eastern slope of this hill there is a stream called Jones' Falls, its sight and noise producing one charm more. The rocky bed over which the water flows, a grist mill with its turning wheel, and the intermingling of the numerous phases of rural life with those of a commercial and maritime city are extremely pleasing, and linger in the mind of him who returns to the city along the banks of the stream which passes to the east of the big market before emptying into the harbor.

Baltimore has two banks: one, established in 1701²³ and bearing the name of the state of which this place is the capital, has a capital

²¹ After the revolt of August 22, 1791, in which the Negroes laid waste the whole northern plain of the French part of Santo Domingo, the slaves rose again June 21, 1793, and in the general conflict that lasted two days destroyed the wealthy and beautiful town of Cap Français. The stricken colonists fled, many taking refuge in American coastal towns. "On the ninth of July, fifty-three vessels bearing about 1000 whites and 500 people of colour . . . arrived in Baltimore. Many were quartered in the houses of the citizens, who besides subscribed above \$12000, for the relief of such as were destitute. Those more fortunate who brought capitals, entered into trade, others introduced new arts or cultivation in the neighborhood, and with succeeding arrivals from the southern and western parts of the Island, contributed to increase the wealth as well as the population of the town." Griffith, *Annals of Baltimore*, p. 140.

²² Belvidere Mansion, in Howard's Park.

²³ An error; the Bank of Maryland was established in 1784.

of 300 thousand dollars (1,650,000 francs); the other is a branch of the Bank of the United States, properly called.

Vessels calling Baltimore their home port were, in 1790, only 102 and amounted to 13,564 tons, but this number was more than doubled by 1794, the year in which exports were valued at 5,300,000 dollars, a sum equal to more than 29 millions of our *livres*.

But Baltimore is subjected to the scourge of yellow fever. Almost every year since 1793, it has been ravaged by this terrible disease, particularly the section called the Point, which is nearest the sea and the lowest part of the town.

An interest stronger than love of life, however, anchors there all those who believe the promises of fortune rather than the threats of inexorable death; in fact, if this dreadful malady does not cease destroying by the thousands the people who live in this wretched climate, they will, in the end, fortify themselves against the disease by resorting to the unique expedient of predestination, and use that like Turks against the Plague.

There are large inns in Baltimore that serve excellent food either table d'hôte or à la carte.

They have an immense collection of enormous bedroom slippers from which one chooses a pair when going to bed in order that he may have at his door the next morning when he gets up his own shoes or boots all cleaned and polished.

Much difficulty is encountered in obtaining water for the bed rooms. Ice is saved in order to make cool water during the summer.

The gazettes offer from 30 to 300 francs for the arrest of a fugitive slave.

Baltimore's inhabitants are quite friendly toward the French.

Baltimore's river (the Patapsco) was frozen over from the beginning of January to February 11, 1809.

A journalist ²⁴ of this place, having incensed the Americans because of remarks he made when the War of 1812 was declared, had his house demolished; although excessive disorder took place, he was lucky enough to escape.

Located in Baltimore are sugar refineries, rum distilleries, tobacco factories, roperies, paper mills, cotton goods and hardware manufactures, shoe and boot factories, ship-building yards, and tanneries, etc., etc.

Baltimore is governed by special commissioners and controllers of accounts.

²⁴ Alexander Contee Hanson, Jr. (1786-1819), editor of the *Federal Republican* (Baltimore).

The city is 12 leagues northeast of Annapolis, 75 leagues north-northeast of Richmond, and 43 leagues west-southwest of Philadelphia.

I ate green peas in Baltimore on May 18, 1794.

II. A TRIP FROM BALTIMORE TO PHILADELPHIA BY WAY OF CHESAPEAKE BAY, FRENCHTOWN, NEW CASTLE AND THE DELAWARE RIVER,
MAY 20 AND 21, 1794

May 20, 1794. The commerce between Baltimore and Philadelphia necessitates a method of transportation which would be, by land, too costly and, by the Chesapeake, too long, too uncertain, and sometimes even dangerous during winter: as a consequence, a compromise has been reached.

The method evolved is this: freight is loaded in Baltimore on passenger boats or packets that go to Frenchtown [*la ville française*]²⁸ and from there carts or wagons carry it to New Castle. There, it is reloaded on other packets and transported to Philadelphia. The latter city uses the same method, in a contrary sense, when sending freight to Baltimore.

However, these boats are generally inactive from Christmas to the 15th of March, a season when the Chesapeake is frozen over.

Aided by an east wind, we left Baltimore on the schooner *President* of 35 tons at 8:30 in the morning of May 20, 1794, and went to the Point, where several passengers are always taken on. After losing quite a bit of time, we finally sailed, only to spend a long while yet in the Basin at Baltimore—the wind making it necessary to tack—before we reached the Chesapeake.

When we left Virginia for Baltimore, we were warned not only to take particular care in reserving our cabins on board the packets, but even to mark them in chalk with our names, custom decreeing this kind of proprietary indication for people who reserve their places in advance. We found this rigidly observed in the voyage

²⁸ Two years before (1792), Littleton Waller Tazewell of Virginia, ailing from overstudy at the College of William and Mary, had sailed from Yorktown for a trip north with Bishop William Madison. "Upon our arrival at Elkton," wrote the future governor of Virginia, "but a single hack could be procured. This Bishop Madison and his friend the Rev. Saml McCroskery took for their own use and left Robert Carter and myself to follow them as we could thereafter. Soon after they left us we learned by accident that a line of packets had recently been established between Philadelphia and Baltimore by the way of Frenchtown and New Castle and thence up to Philadelphia. We therefore hired a cart, in which we caused our baggage to be transported, and we walked from Elkton to Frenchtown, where we were lucky enough to procure a shattered old vehicle in which we got safely to New Castle. Here we were detained several days waiting for the packet in which we at last reached the city of Philadelphia." From Littleton Waller Tazewell's unpublished "Family History," now in the possession of Littleton Waller Tazewell, IV, of Norfolk, Va.

from Norfolk to Baltimore, and on making our reservations for Frenchtown in the last-named place, the captain himself gave me the piece of chalk with which to mark the six cabins I had reserved.

When we went on board, we found the marks erased on two of the reserved cabins, and when we wanted to take possession of them, we found them occupied. Our protestations resulted in a lively quarrel which we won only by showing a firm intention of letting nobody take advantage of us. Even the captain took the other side, which only incensed us all the more, so indignant were we at his duplicity. But he preferred his compatriots to us.

The price of a single passage, when meals are provided by the captain, is five quarters of a dollar, about 7 French francs. A Negro pays only $\frac{3}{4}$ of a dollar (4 francs). Beverages are extra. Drinks are paid for separately. A drink of brandy costs $\frac{1}{8}$ of a dollar, 16 sous; a bottle of porter or heavy English ale, $\frac{5}{16}$, about 45 sous; and a bottle of Madeira, a dollar, 5 francs 10 centimes.

On the boat, as elsewhere, drink is the dominating thought. The only thing that made us suspect some sort of law and order existed on board was a little notice warning anyone who entered a cabin with his shoes or boots on that he would be fined a bottle of porter. Happily, the prohibition was silent about dirty feet, or the cabin would be either nearly always unoccupied or else a rich source for fines.

At half past one was served the captain's meal and that of the passengers he had contracted to feed. A dish of beef, white potatoes, cabbage, and ham comprised a repast that had been doubtless planned to induce thirst.

At half past three we were still but 12 miles from the town of Baltimore, and at five-thirty we had only reached Fall Island.²⁰

But this slow progress was counterbalanced by a view of the Chesapeake, lined, as it was, by flourishing plantations on whose soil will grow, so the owners boast, wheat, corn, tobacco, and white potatoes.

More than that, the group of 25 passengers, all travelling for different reasons, strangers to each other for the most part, meeting one another perhaps for the single time in their entire lives, together with the different conversations, and the sleepers, snorers, tobacco chewers, and drunkards that made up that traveling smoking-room, shortened the time for anyone wise enough to watch the scene with an observing eye.

²⁰ Dr. Mims suggests Poole Island.

May 21, 1794. The boat touched bottom in 2 or 3 places, but was not stopped. When night came, we went to bed with hopes that Frenchtown would be reached in a few hours.

And so we did, reaching the place on May 21st at one in the morning. We remained on board until a quarter of five, when a kind of ferry or scow came out to get both passengers and baggage and convey everything ashore.

Frenchtown or *la Ville française* consists of one large dwelling house, a kitchen and other dependencies, and a freight warehouse. It is located on the left bank of the Elk, a pretty river that empties into the Chesapeake a few miles farther down.

They say the name Frenchtown was given the place because a group of Acadians, whom the English had expatriated, settled there in 1715.²⁷

(The English burned it in 1813.)

At Frenchtown are two stage-coaches; one, accommodating 12 passengers, is drawn by 4 horses, and the other, accommodating 9, is drawn by two horses. In addition, there is a wagon that carries the passengers' luggage when there is no room left in the stage-coach boxes or behind.

The fare one way from Frenchtown to New Castle is $\frac{3}{4}$ of a dollar (4 francs). At five-thirty the coachman cracks his whip and thus gives the signal for departure.

Fifteen minutes later, we noticed to our left a belfry and some thirty brick houses which indicated Elkton or Head of Elk, and at six-thirty, we reached Glasgow. From Frenchtown—located in a smiling, neatly kept countryside—to Glasgow, each side of the road, as far as the eye can see, is well planted in flax, wheat, and corn. Oaks and walnuts are the predominating trees. Birds resembling large blackbirds, and turtle doves enliven the scene. The earth is composed of a stiff soil that is slightly clayey. This section, they say, suffers a little from droughts.

Glasgow, eight miles from Frenchtown, consists of a few houses; here the stage stops for a very few minutes in order that the horses may be watered.

The road from Glasgow on is as smiling as before; scattered here and there are horses, cows, sheep, hogs, geese, fowl of all kind, ploughs drawn by two horses tilling the earth, and young girls weeding with hoes. Three miles beyond Glasgow is the line separating the state of Maryland from Delaware.

²⁷ Possibly a slip in transcribing the original. The Acadians came from Nova Scotia in 1755.

It is ten miles more before another house is reached, and then a short stop is made in order to give the stage horses, following the American custom, a large bucket of cool water as soon as the bridle has been removed. At this point, six miles from New Castle, begin to appear the milestones that dot the road from New Castle to Philadelphia.

Particularly pleasing in the 8 or 9 miles that precede New Castle are the hedge rows.

They are formed of hawthorne bushes whose flowers, at the moment are filled with charms the month of May seems to impart to all of nature.

To judge the ecstatic pleasure the sight of these hedges produces, one must be acquainted with the United States and its wooden fences or *hayes sèches*, a wearying sight forever present.

We arrived at New Castle at nine-thirty. It was court-day, and we were extremely curious to see the court in session. There was nothing inspiring about the building, but the mere sight of a jury increases one's esteem for a custom that entrusts trial to a group of men aware of how they have been fashioned and in whom the study of law has not supplanted the study of the human heart. Moreover, however simple may be the temple dedicated to justice, it always awakens feelings of respect in the man who loves it.

New Castle, one of the oldest towns in the State of Delaware, and once even the capital, is located on the right bank of a river bearing the same name. It is situated thirty miles from Philadelphia by land and 40 by water. Its brick houses, numbering about eighty, are not built close together.

This place has a court of common pleas and a jail, a supreme court, and both an Episcopal and a Presbyterian church.

It was founded about 1627 by Swedes who called it Stockholm.²⁸ Then, falling into the hands of the Dutch, it received from them the name of New Amsterdam. Finally, the English gave it the name it bears today. New Castle has known a period of decline, but it has flourished again, and when the breakwater—for the construction of which a rolling mill[?] has been built—is finished, ships will be able to find safe anchorage there during winter.

All ocean-going vessels coming from Philadelphia call at New Castle for two reasons: first, because they can procure chickens and

²⁸ The site of New Castle passed in 1651 from the Swedes to the Dutch, who built Fort Casimir; the Swedes were in control again in 1654, and the Dutch again in 1655, calling the settlement in 1656 New Amstel, after an Amsterdam suburb; captured by the British in 1664, the name was changed the same year to New Castle.

fresh vegetables there, and second, because, if the weather is not favorable enough for venturing outside the Delaware Capes, they can ride safely at anchor until a more propitious moment, and at the same time replace the provisions consumed during the delay.

The stop at New Castle is so customary that a boat is supposedly ready to sail when it has been brought in by a pilot. And there the captain joins it, after he had completed his business in Philadelphia.

After lunching in an inn, filled with a large number of people in town for court-day, we went to the wharf or *quai* in order to board a passenger boat that was to take us to Philadelphia. These packets, 4 in number, are constantly used in this particular transportation. The one on which we engaged passage was a boat called the *Morning Star*, Thomas Moore, captain.

We found ourselves with 3 or 4 passengers who had been traveling companions from Baltimore. Among them was M. A. Murray, a Philadelphia merchant, whose kindness we cannot praise too highly. The rest were total strangers to us up to then.

The New Castle packets are not only very handsome, but are much more agreeably arranged than those from Norfolk to Frenchtown.

A one-way passage costs $\frac{3}{4}$ of a dollar (4 francs); food and drink are paid for separately. Slaves pay only a half a dollar (55 sous). Two of the packets now in use—differing from each other in name only, *Morning Star* and *Rising Sun*—are reputed to be the swiftest boats on the entire Delaware River. With wind and tide favorable, they have been known to make this forty-mile trip in less than three hours.

We set sail from New Castle at 11 o'clock in the morning in order to go up the Delaware, at this point much narrower than the Chesapeake; in fact its width is scarcely over a mile. At noon, having made about six miles since leaving New Castle, we were abreast Wilmington.

Wilmington, located 1700 *toises* from the Delaware, lies between two creeks, Christina, which admits boats drawing 8 feet of water, and Brandywine. The 2 unite about 900 *toises* below the city, then empty into the Delaware in a stream some 100 *toises* wide.

From a distance the view of Wilmington is interesting. The town consists of 6 or 7 hundred houses most of which are built of brick, public buildings, and a workhouse that is particularly outstanding because of its size and belfry. The hill on which Wilmington is located increases the town's attractiveness, at least when

seen from the river. Lighters indicated the creek that leads to the town.

Wilmington has 6 Protestant church, 2 for Presbyterians, 1 for Swedish Episcopalians, 1 for Quakers, 1 for Anabaptists, and 1 for Methodists. In addition, there are 2 markets, one poor house, and a workhouse. An academy formerly existed, but it was ruined by the War of Independence.

Wilmington is the largest town in the state of Delaware. Its magnificent mills²⁹ have a very ingenious method of loading and unloading grain.

The town was founded about 1735.³⁰ Between it and Philadelphia is a packet line which serves as a means of commercial communication.

From New Castle to Wilmington and beyond, the Delaware bank is charming and diverse, the eye always discovering something interesting; but the opposite shore, that of the Jerseys, is, in contrast, a sad disappointment.

Towards noon we were at Marens Hook, the name a wealthy inhabitant has given his wharf. Little land is under cultivation in the vicinity, which abounds, rather, in natural meadows that are sometimes a trifle wooded.

Five miles distant is Chester, a small village of some 600 houses. We arrived there at 2 o'clock.

At three o'clock Fort Mifflin, mounted with 10 guns, loomed up before us, and at three-thirty the city of Philadelphia came into view.

From the distance the sight was extremely interesting, and the presence of a fort seemed to indicate that the city is important.

As one draws nearer, the southern part of the town becomes more and more visible, and then, finally, the town itself comes into full view with the belfry of Christ Church—of the Anglican persuasion—located in North 2nd Street apparently indicating the center of the place and giving it the appearance of a city.

At 4 o'clock we approached the river bank on which the city is located, but there were so many ships at the wharves, we lost more than an hour before our boat could dock, an annoying delay con-

²⁹ The Brandywine Mills.

³⁰ Fort Christina, built by the Swedes shortly after landing at The Rocks in 1638, was taken over by the Dutch in 1653 and renamed Fort Altena. Within ten years the English had arrived. Andrew Justison had land he owned between Brandywine and Christina Creeks surveyed about 1730 for the purpose of laying out a town. Four years later Thomas Willing, his son-in-law joined him in the enterprise, and the town was named for him—Wilmington. No formal government existed until 1739, when a new charter changed the town's name to Wilmington.

sidering the fact that it had taken only five hours to make the trip between New Castle and Philadelphia, although the tide had been against us when we left.

The good impression of Philadelphia one gets when viewing it from the river receives a keen disappointment when one arrives, for the town's entire panorama is blotted out by an array of wharves. Their presence makes one realize that not only has cupidity been the underlying reason for their construction, but that neither good taste, nor health, nor pleasing design, in fact nothing has been considered in planning them. Moreover, whatever attractive features are evidenced in Philadelphia's magnificent plan have vanished before the influence of scheming commercial ideas which are incapable of producing anything beautiful or great.

Although praise is certainly due the rapidity of the New Castle packets, there is something incomplete in everything planned for public utility in America. Thus they have completely ignored the fact that packets almost continually in service ought to have in a city the size of Philadelphia a warehouse for the merchandise shipped in. The boats merely wait until the freight is called for. When a passenger arrives, the boat has left, and without the captain; not knowing what day the boat will return from its rounds, the passenger does not know when to come back, because not only does the sailing hour change each day with the tide, but the boat's arrival depends altogether on the weather. If, at last, the passenger is lucky enough to discover the ship's location, then, if it rains, he cannot find a conveyance to transport his luggage; this is the worst blow of all. In no place in the world has there been less consideration for the public; yet, they say, it is for him that these packets have been established. Of course, no one could miss the [French] police spies who busy themselves with people's private affairs under the pretext of insuring safety. But a country without any police is exceedingly ridiculous and primitive where it is made apparent in a thousand ways and at every moment that people do not care much for anything and [where sloth becomes a pleasure] enjoy even sloth.

Finally arrived in Philadelphia—that is, having landed—Goynard³¹ and I took particular pains in finding lodgings. We were aided in this task by Messrs. Longuemarre and Marcet,³² our travel-

³¹ A passenger with Moreau on the barkentine *Sophia* from Le Havre to Norfolk, Va.; a confidential agent of Daniel Mérian & Co.; see *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 48, pp. 13, 18, 19, 22, 24-29.

³² Longuemarre de la Salle came from Le Havre to Norfolk on the ship *Sussex*. Marcet was a colonist from Santo Domingo who had come on the same ship. *Ibid.*, Vol. 49, p. 22 and note 29.

ing companions in Norfolk. After many futile attempts and numerous refusals, somebody told us of a wretched asylum near the Angelican Church in North Second Street. Once installed, we received visits from L'Ami and Milhet of Cap Français. We paid Sureau a visit. We saw Prieur, Mme Seur, Aubert and his family, and a crowd of our unfortunate colonial friends.

May 22, 1794. Goynard, my son, and I attended Congress which was then in session. I had a letter of introduction from Colonel Wilson³³ to Colonel Parker,³⁴ congressman from Virginia. During a moment in which he left his seat in order to refresh himself at a table—reserved for congressmen—covered with earthenware jars and bottles of molasses, I presented him Colonel Wilson's letter. After reading it, he made some very kind remarks. Then, during a lull in the congressional business, he presented me to the body as someone who had been a member of the *Assemblée Constituante*, and asked that I be admitted to the session in the capacity reserved for distinguished visitors. The proposal was acted on favorably, and the speaker invited me to take a seat. My American heart was not only filled with pride but quite touched by the honor.

After the adjournment, I accompanied my two traveling companions to take a look at the house being built for the President, but long before reaching the goal, I noticed two men making frantic gestures in a carriage coming rapidly toward us. Goynard, whose eyesight is better than mine, told me that the two people seemed to be signaling to me.

Preoccupied with that thought, I stopped; the carriage continued coming toward us, and in a few seconds, it stopped in the street opposite me. One of the two people jumped down and came forward with outstretched hands; it was Beaumetz.³⁵ The other, not so agile, followed; it was Talleyrand.³⁶

³³ Willis Wilson, of Gosport, Va. *Ibid.*, Vol. 48, p. 22 and note 29.

³⁴ Josiah Parker, of "Macclesfield," Isle of Wight County, Va.; congressman 1789-1801.

³⁵ Bon-Albert Briois, chevalier de Beaumetz, born in 1769, was a member of the Sovereign Council of Artois and president of the *Assemblée Constituante*, elected May 27, 1790. He championed trial by jury and publicity of judicial debates, but voted against the sale of Church property and eligibility of Jews. At heart he was a monarchist, frequenting Mme de Staël's salon. In 1792 he was accused of trying to re-establish the King's power, but escaped, thanks to Talleyrand's aid, and emigrated the same year, first to England, then to the United States, where he associated himself with Talleyrand in land speculation. On May 27, 1796, he sailed from Philadelphia for Calcutta, India, where he died about 1800. For a letter from Beaumetz to Moreau, see Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Voyages*, pp. 267-269.

³⁶ Charles-Maurice de Talleyrand (1753-1848), finding Paris too uncomfortable in 1792, procured a passport in September, and left for England—under the pretext of urging British neutrality—where he became part of the group of Constitutionalists surrounding Mme de Staël at "Juniper Hall," in Surrey. Requested to leave England

Both had come over together from England. What joy! What happiness! What repeated greetings and embraces! After this first delightful effusion, they asked me to dine with them. I returned to my lodgings immediately, imparted my happiness to my dear ones, and then rushed off to the appointed place.

On April 29, a French gazette had announced the plan of Talleyrand and Beaumetz to come, with many other Frenchmen, to the United States at the beginning of February. Being totally unaware of the news, I was completely taken by surprise. What a dinner! How many events of the past two years we evoked, and what trivia we had to hear and relate. It was certainly the *infandum regina jubes*.

After dinner we all went to see Blacon,³⁷ the comte de Noailles,³⁸ and Talon.³⁹ Astonishment and pleasure were, in turn, their lot. While we talked, it hailed and thundered as if the heavens wished to make us remember all the unhappiness from which he had escaped.

Later I made several visits. I welcomed La Colombe⁴⁰ and Cadignan, and you can well imagine that La Fayette furnished the main topic of conversation. I ended my rounds by a visit to the public library established through the efforts of Benjamin Franklin.

On that day Talleyrand told me that for 3 weeks following August 10th, he had driven about in his uncovered carriage during the day time sometimes with Louis Narbonne⁴¹ and sometimes with Beau-

in 1794, the "monstre mitré" boarded a merchantman and in July landed in Philadelphia, where he lived in dreary lodgings on North Third St. Visits to New York and an exploratory trip north where interlarded with much social life and abortive speculations in land. On June 12, 1796, he sailed from Philadelphia on a "wretched Dutch vessel," the *Den Née Prove*, for Hamburg.

³⁷ "Le blondin Blacon," as Talleyrand called him, became one of the group of *émigrés* who gathered to talk, eat, and drink in Moreau's Philadelphia stationery shop during 1795-1796. In a letter from Talleyrand to Moreau, dated Paris, Feb. 11, 1797, he sent "mille compliments à Blacon dont la petite pigriesche de femme se porte bien." In October, 1798 Blacon's in-laws, Mme and Mlle de Maulde, asked Moreau to aid Blacon in his plan to return to France. Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Voyages*, pp. 248, 400.

³⁸ The vicomte Louis-Marie de Noailles (1756-1804), brother-in-law of Lafayette, had served in America during the Revolution, been deputy from Nemours to the States-General and president of the *Assemblée Constituante* in 1791. Emigrating to the United States in 1792, he remained over a decade, during which time he was active in founding the French colony called Asylum in Luzerne County, Pa. He returned to France in 1803 and was sent to the West Indies, where he was killed during a sea battle within sight of Havana.

³⁹ Antoine Omer Talon, once imprisoned in the Chapelle de l'Abbaye, had come to Philadelphia in 1792 and taken an oath of allegiance to the State of Pennsylvania. He was instrumental, along with Noailles and Dupetit-Thouars, in founding Asylum in 1794.

⁴⁰ Having served as Lafayette's aide-de-camp during the American Revolution, La Colombe reaped further reward from his General by being appointed *aide-major* in the National Guard. When Lafayette, failing in his attempt to attach the army under his command to the constitution, fled towards supposed safety on August 19, 1792, La Colombe had been one of the group of officers—some 53 horsemen—who had accompanied him until the Austrian outpost near Rochefort terminated the flight.

⁴¹ Louis de Narbonne Lara (1755-1814).

metz, that he made them change their sleeping quarters every night, and that nobody ever said anything; that Narbonne, provided with a passport, left France disguised as a Swiss; that Beaumetz, who escaped arrest by using his family name of Briois (in particular at Bolbec where Lacroix de Chartres, a member of the Convention, made use of this altered version and thus allowed him to escape) became a sutler, rolled his cart about for two weeks, escaped abroad, and finally reached England.

Talleyrand also told me another story. Going one day to the home of Danton, minister of justice, in order to procure a passport,⁴² he entered simultaneously with a man who had come to relate the news that the people had clapped into prison Montmorin de Fontainebleau despite the fact that he had been acquitted by the Revolutionary Tribunal. Shortly after, a delegation from the Abbaye Battalion came to the Minister and said: "The jury has committed the infamous act of acquitting Montmorin, and the judges thought they were obliged to pronounce sentence accordingly. But we have decided that this crime shall not be perpetrated. We are sure that Montmorin is guilty and have taken him to prison. We have come to ask you for an order directing that he be held there."

"Are you sure," asked Danton, "that he is guilty? Well, he must be. The voice of the people never accuses wrongly."

Then, turning toward his secretary, Danton said, "Draw up an order of detention." As these men were on the point of going away, one of them, dressed in a coat and wearing a Revolutionary cap adorned with a large red feather, extended his right arm:

"Citizen Minister, I have a word to say."

"Speak."

"I know a great general named Monneron who lives on rue des Gravillion; he has fought against Brunswick⁴³ several times, and yet, he is idle."

His eyes ablaze, Danton advanced towards the speaker and said, "You are unworthy of the name citizen. You know of a great general . . . You know that he has fought against Brunswick. You know that Brunswick sullies the soil of France, and yet you say nothing about all this. Is it merely by chance that you are offering this information to the Minister of Justice?" Each of the men then said, "He is right . . . Why didn't you speak before? . . . Why didn't you reveal this knowledge?"

Danton continued: "Yes, I repeat, you are a miserable citizen;

⁴² "The bishop d'Autun," noted Gouverneur Morris, Sept. 8, 1792, in his diary, "has got his Passport." *A Diary of the French Revolution*, Vol. 2, p. 341.

⁴³ Duke Charles William Ferdinand of Brunswick (1735-1806).

but bring General Monneron before the *Conseil* this evening and we shall see whether he can be used . . ."

The mob went away, delighted with the idea that one of its members had discovered the existence of a great general whom they were to present to the *Conseil* that evening.

I learned from La Colombe that he had escaped from the prison in Antwerp. He had just been playing a game of whist. After the rubber was over, he pretended he was peeved with the prison superintendent, his partner, then excused himself on the pretext of having a fever, saying he was going to bed. He withdrew to his room, disguised himself as a Dutch priest, and went out, a pistol in one hand and a dagger in the other. His servant, having made a tour of inspection much earlier, had informed him that everything was safe. Then, following instructions, the servant warned the other prisoners of his master's escape. They regretted they had not adopted La Colombe's idea of escaping en masse but had sworn to effect their release or die together. For a moment, several thought of following his example, but their courage failed them in the end. Pillet,⁴⁴ former major of the Basoche and aide-de-camp of La Fayette, was the only one of them to escape; he left unarmed.

After walking a long way La Colombe became very tired and sat down to rest on the side of the road. Suddenly he heard a noise and fearing for the 12 louis he had in his pocket, he took his dagger in his right hand, his pistol in his left, and, when the person drew near, cried out, "Who is it?"

"Only I," came the answer. He recognized Pillet's voice, welcomed him, gave him his pistol, and they continued their way together.

On arriving at Berg-op-Zoom, they were stopped at the guard house where the officers and soldiers evidenced extreme sorrow for the plight of the two persecuted priests from France and allowed them to pass.

In 1792 La Colombe went from Rotterdam to England. He took a boat at Bristol and arrived in New York at the beginning of May, 1794.

May 23, 1794. I paid visits to Colonel Parker, Marcet, Longue-marre, Georges, Doctor Rush, Terrier,⁴⁵ and Doctor Rittenhouse.

Several people of color came to see us.

May 24. We left Philadelphia for New York at one in the morning.

⁴⁴ He emigrated to the United States and was in Philadelphia, Nov. 11, 1794. Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Voyages*, p. 192.

⁴⁵ Another *émigré*. His father arrived in Philadelphia from Bordeaux, Nov. 16, 1794. *Ibid.*, p. 192.

GEORGE BECK, AN EARLY BALTIMORE LANDSCAPE PAINTER

By J. HALL PLEASANTS

It would appear that the first painters in the United States who confined their work to landscapes were three Englishmen who at the close of the eighteenth century came to America and selected Baltimore as the scene of their first painting activities on this side of the ocean. These were George Beck, William Groombridge, and Francis Guy. Nearly a century earlier Justus Englehardt Kühn of Annapolis, and more recently Ralph Earl of Connecticut, who were primarily painters of portraits, had done occasional landscapes, and they and other early American portrait painters not infrequently introduced landscapes as backgrounds to their portraits. Lack of space, however, prevents more than mere mention by name of Francis Guy and his large output of local views and of the less prolific William Groombridge. We can here only concern ourselves with George Beck, whose "View of Baltimore from Howard's Park" is reproduced in this number of the *Magazine*.

Why Beck, a landscape painter of considerable ability, should have escaped the attention of all recent writers on early American painting is only to be explained because his work, apparently always unsigned, has until recently lacked attribution and because the half dozen known landscapes by him are scattered. The "View of Baltimore from Howard's Park," now for nearly ninety years in the possession of the Maryland Historical Society, was presented to the Society as by "Bec."

The writer's attention was recently called to an interesting sketch of Beck which appeared a hundred and twenty-seven years ago in an American periodical. This sketch, written in the flowery style of the day by an anonymous Baltimore author, possibly Robert Gilmore the art collector, under the title "A Biographical Memoir of the Late George Beck, Esq." was published in *The Portfolio* for August, 1813 (3rd series, vol. ii, no. 2, pp. 117-122).

From this memoir it is learned that George Beck, born at Ellford, England, was the youngest son of a Staffordshire farmer. Leaving school at nine, he was largely self educated. In his late teens he secured a teaching position at Tamworth, doubtless in the free grammar school there. But impaired health, unquestionably tuberculosis in view of his subsequent history, interrupted his studies for holy orders which he had begun in 1770. He seems to have been promised

a "mathematical professorship" in the Royal [Military] Academy at Woolwich, but a change in the ministry in 1776 interfered with this and resulted in his appointment to the corps of engineers and an assignment to the Tower of London to draw military plans and maps. It was apparently at this time that he became interested in painting.

He married in 1786 a young lady whose name is not disclosed but "in whose accomplished mind he inspired reciprocity of taste and sentiment." In 1789 "on account of declining health" he resigned his government position and for two years taught the daughters of the Marchioness Townshend. In 1791 he was engaged to complete Grose's *Antiquities of Ireland*, but the sudden death of its publisher, Hooper, put an end to the project.

For the next few years Beck devoted himself to landscape painting, spending much time in the mountains of Wales. It was then that his thoughts turned to America as a field for his brush. To quote the memoir:

The spirited productions which were the result of this [Welsh] tour, gained him many admirers, who suggested that in America he would find a theatre for the exercise of powers that might afterwards enrich his native country. Yielding to their solicitations he embarked for the United States, and landed at Norfolk in the year 1795. After a short residence in that city he visited Baltimore, where he received such flattering marks of approbation as induced him to send for his lady, and relinquished the design of an immediate return to England. He had not been long in this city when he received a visit from Mr. Hamilton of the Woodland [near Philadelphia], a gentleman whose name is most honourably associated with the history of the fine arts in America. He was so much pleased with the works of Mr. Beck that he engaged him to paint views of his elegant villa, and when there, invited him to settle in Philadelphia. He accordingly repaired thither, accompanied by his lady, who soon after their arrival established a seminary for the education of young ladies, over which she presided with an assiduity that found its reward in seeing many of her pupils among the fairest ornaments of that city.

In the spring of 1804, after a residence of seven years in Philadelphia, he is said to have begun a tour of the western states which had as its result his settlement in Lexington, Kentucky. As he had arrived in Baltimore in 1795 it would appear that he had spent about two years here before going to Philadelphia in 1797. It also seems likely that the "View of Baltimore from Howard's Park" was painted three or four years before the turn of the century.

We are told that after settling in Lexington in 1804, where the remainder of his life was to be spent, Beck busied himself with painting, teaching school, mathematical pursuits, chemical experiments, composing poetry, and translating the Odes of Anacreon,

several books of the Iliad, Virgil's Georgics and the Aneid, and the Odes of Horace. He published observations on the comet in 1811. He was hopeful of securing a chair in the recently established Transylvania College "but on September 18 occurred an inflammation of the lungs which settled in a consumption," and he died December 14, 1812. The memoir concludes with a panegyric upon his character and ability, declaring that "of his talents as a painter it were superfluous to speak: his own pencil has reared his monument and eulogy." After her husband's death Mrs. Beck continued to conduct the school. She planned, it is said, to publish his original poems.

The "View of Baltimore from Howard's Park" is an oil painting 37 inches by 45½ inches. It is obviously a faithful panoramic view of the city from the north near what is now the site of the Washington Monument, at the intersection of Washington Place and Mt. Vernon Place, on land then owned by General John Eager Howard (1752-1827), the Revolutionary soldier and the owner of the large estate, "Belvedere," extending northward from Centre street to Jones Falls. The "Belvedere" mansion was situated near what is now the intersection of Chase and Calvert streets. The southern end of this estate, which was open to the public, was familiarly known as "Howard's Park."

The buildings shown in the painting which can be identified with absolute certainty are the Court House, the large building just to the right of the center of the painting, standing in what is now the space between the Post Office and the present Court House, with a passageway running beneath the building on the ground level, the old Court House thus straddling Calvert street; and the First Presbyterian, or "Two-Steeple Church," which stood at what is now the northwest corner of Fayette Street and Guilford Avenue. In the picture it appears to the left of the Court House. The church fronted on Fayette Street and as a consequence the artist viewed it from the north, or pulpit, end. It has been suggested that the building with three tiers of windows, behind the trees at the right, is intended to represent St. Paul's Episcopal Church, but other views of St. Paul's show only two tiers of windows. The harbor, with the town lying around it, is seen in the distance. One of the most interesting objects in the view, almost lost sight of in the reproduction, is a windmill of early design. Its brown wooden arms and box-like housing rise against the water separating Baltimore Town from Fells Point, then the shipping centre of the town, where many of those who made their living from the sea had their offices and homes.

PRESBYTERIANS OF OLD BALTIMORE¹

By JOHN H. GARDNER, JR.

This paper presents some outlines of the story of a sturdy people. To be sure, they have not always been easy to live with, nor have they always endeared themselves to others by their amiable qualities. But none can deny the sturdy quality of their religious faith. And speaking even objectively, as an historian might, the influence they exerted in the formative years of this nation, and in the State of Maryland, counted very definitely. Lest this sound boastful, however, perhaps I should place alongside this statement the opinion of King James the First of Great Britain. He once had his feathers badly ruffled by a Presbyterian Parliament. Thereupon he confided to one of his courtiers that "Presbyterianism is no religion for a gentleman!"

In origin, the Presbyterian Church derives its American sources mainly from the Scotch, the Scotch-Irish of Ulster, and the Huguenot exiles from France. One must bear in mind, however, that in mode of thought and government they are first cousins of such Calvinistic groups as the Reformed, who found their roots in Holland, or Germany or Switzerland, and who, taken together throughout the world, now number in all some forty-two millions.

In Maryland, under the leadership of Francis Makemie, churches were established on the Eastern Shore between the years of 1670 and 1700. The Presbyterian Church was held to be a dissenting sect by the American branch of the Anglican Communion, which was the established church of Maryland at that time. It flourished only where strong-minded Presbyterian settlers demanded to be allowed to worship God in their own way.

The origin of the Presbyterian Church on the Western Shore of Maryland traces back to a scandal in the Episcopalian Church. I hesitate to recite events better left forgotten, but the story explains some important facts. These facts, by the way, were placed in my hands by the researches of Dr. J. Hall Pleasants, and I may also add that I have the gracious permission of the present rector of St. Paul's to use them. It seems that in 1714 the rector of St. Paul's Parish, then located at the head of Colgate Creek, was one Reverend William Tibbs. He is described as having little spirituality, but a

¹ Address before the Society at its meeting December 11, 1939.

prodigious desire for strong drink and ample fees. He so scandalized the good people of his parish that finally a number of the vestrymen, led by Mr. Thomas Todd, sued in the court of Baltimore County for permission to use Mr. Todd's home as a place of meeting for a dissenting congregation. Having this permission, they secured the Reverend Hugh Conn, of Glasgow, who preached for some time in the Todd home. This house stood at North Point and was burned by the British in 1814; the present dwelling being erected on the same site. Mr. Conn preached later in a house near Curtis Bay, and died some years afterwards in Bladensburg.

When Baltimore Town was formed in 1729, several of the settlers apparently, or some who came soon after, were Presbyterians. Whitfield, the famous evangelist, notes in his diary that when he visited Baltimore in 1740 he found "close opposition" from the Presbyterians. One of this group apparently was Dr. William Lyon, later one of the founders of the First Presbyterian Church of Baltimore when it was formally organized in 1763.

The story of *The Rise and Progress of the Presbyterian Church in Baltimore Town* was told years afterwards by the Reverend Dr. Patrick Allison, first minister of the First Presbyterian Church. From a pamphlet with that title, one paragraph relates

The advantageous situation of the Town for Commerce induced a few Presbyterian Families from Pennsylvania to settle in it about the year 1761, who, with two or three of the same Persuasion, that had emigrated from Europe, soon formed themselves into a religious Society, and had occasional supplies, when they assembled in private Houses, though the owners were liable to a Prosecution on this Account, as the then Province groaned under an unrighteous and *irreligious* Establishment for the Support of which all Denominations were taxed, and the Law required every House of Worship, used by the Dissenters, to be registered and licensed. They proceeded, however, in this way undisturbed, and soon raised a small wooden Building for the more orderly Celebration of Divine Service.

This first church, by the way, was in use for only two years, being only a small log building later turned into a neighborhood carpenter shop. The congregation soon increased enough to erect a brick church, which in turn had to be enlarged ten years later to accommodate the growing membership. This brick building stood on the site of the present downtown postoffice, surrounded by a burying ground wherein, as the painstaking records of the trustees tell us, members of the Church might be buried free of charge; but if not for members, each burial cost five shillings ("hard money"). In addition, if anyone wished to rear a monument above a grave, he must pay five pounds for the permission.

It had been the intention of the congregation to erect this brick church by means of a lottery, following the practice common in those days. Though it may have been successful in building other churches, we are obliged to confess that in this case the lottery was a complete failure, and even on being tried a second time, failed again. Perhaps later Presbyterians are thereby fortified in their faith that a Providence overrules some possible mistakes! (It may also be remarked that no one at that day had ever heard of bingo.)

So far as the Revolutionary War was concerned, the lay leaders and pastor of the Presbyterian Church sided, to a man, with the colonial cause. Indeed, it has often been charged and possibly must be admitted that they welcomed the cause of independence right heartily. Samuel Purviance, for instance, was chairman of the local Committee of Safety. Such families as that of John Smith left sons not only who led the affairs of First Presbyterian Church ably, but who served their country in distinguished capacities. Robert served as Secretary of the Navy; his brother Samuel not only in the Revolution, but also as Major General in the War of 1812; and even a grandson, General John Spear Smith, served as president of the Maryland Historical Society for twenty-two years from the date of its founding, in 1844. All Baltimoreans know the story of William Patterson, who landed in America with two shiploads of powder; one for Washington's army, as a gift, and the other with which to set up a business. The streets and parks of Baltimore still bear these honored Presbyterian names; Sterret, Gittings, Gilmor, Buchanan. It was not an accident that Col. James McHenry was both Secretary of War in Washington's Cabinet and superintendent of the Sunday School of First Presbyterian Church.

And as the congregation grew, it added distinguished families who are remembered with pride and gratitude today. Mr. Alexander Brown, first of the American line, arrived in Baltimore in 1800 from Ulster. Succeeding generations of that family shared in the leadership of the congregation in a remarkable way. Indeed, Dr. John Chester Backus in 1859 was authority for the statement that the congregation owed more to Mr. George Brown than to any other single person for the progress that had been made during his pastorate. The present building of the Church was made possible by the generosity of this family, as indeed the Brown Memorial Church also. First Church not only in its early years, but all through its history, has had a remarkable group of singularly high-minded people who were well endowed with resources to accomplish their

cherished ends. But since this sketch is designed to stop short with the occasion of the dedication of the present church edifice in 1859, no mention can be made of the many great families still represented in the life of the congregation.

It may be well for a moment to digress from the thread of the story of First Church to say something of the situation which faced the Church at the close of the Revolution. Since the Presbyterian Church in America had its origin in Scotch, Scotch-Irish and Huguenot people mainly, naturally it grew in proportion as it ministered to the areas where such people lived. Pennsylvania, for instance, was a stronghold of Presbyterians. But during colonial days, the Church grew relatively slowly, centering its line of congregations mainly in the seaboard colonies, or where the pioneers were forming rude settlements inland.

Nor should we think of such people as the Scotch-Irish as essentially a deeply religious clan. The pioneer settlements then were rough places for the most part, with too many of the people indulging in a rough and tumble sort of life. Drinking and fighting were common recreations. A good Indian-fighter was a hero. Law and order were purely relative abstractions to many. Indeed, you will remember that one of the first rebellions against the Federal authority was the famous Whiskey Rebellion which had to be suppressed by the army. One historian has something pointed to say about these turbulent but extremely capable Scotch-Irish settlers of Western Pennsylvania. The Quakers always prided themselves on the fact that they kept peace with the Indians. But, says this historian, you must not forget that no Indian ever lived who dared break through the line of Scotch-Irish settlements to play havoc with the Quakers!

However, these turbulent people with their combination of valiant and sturdy qualities became a deeply religious people when first in the seaboard areas and later inland, the Church brought the Evangel to them. The wild turbulence of their lawless frontier was succeeded by a remarkable religious energy which helped to conquer a wilderness and establish order and Christian living in an incredibly short time.

At the close of the Revolutionary War, the atmosphere of religion was chilled by the rise of a movement that gained headway in nearly every civilized country. This Romantic Movement was in full swing. It produced revolutionary doctrines not only in politics but in religion as well. Deism and free-thinking flourished. Tom Paine's writ-

ings were popular, as well as those of Voltaire and Rousseau. Infidelity and deistic doctrines were popular among the so-called intellectual classes. Not only was there intense confusion in the groping attempts to form the government of the State of Maryland, and of the United States, but this confusion reflected itself in nearly every line of human activity.

The First Presbyterian Church of Baltimore, however, had its first minister, Patrick Allison, together with a group of strong-minded men and women who held their conviction deeply, and who worked for certain great and important objectives. Allison himself had long been the warm friend of General Washington, had accompanied him as his chaplain on the southern marches of the Revolutionary army, had acted repeatedly as chaplain of the Continental Congress, and was somewhat of a power in this State. He shared with John Rodgers of New York and John Witherspoon of Princeton, the distinction of being one of the three most influential clergymen in the whole Presbyterian denomination of his time. Indeed, it is said that he served on every important committee which formed the organization and confession of faith of the American Presbyterian Church. As a man of brilliant scholarship and eloquent pulpit ability, he labored ceaselessly and with constantly increasing effect, not only in his own congregation, but for a multitude of civic and national projects. Backed by his large and influential congregation, he was in a position to bear an important formative influence in the young State of Maryland.

A chance to test his influence rose almost immediately after the Revolution. Since the colonial Anglican Church in Maryland had been an established church, supported by government, it was but natural that the clergy of that Church should endeavor to make it the Established Church of the newly formed State. Though the Anglican Church of the mother country had by this time cast it off, root and branch, what is now the Protestant Episcopal Church was, in parish organization, the strongest church by far in this entire area. A bill, therefore, was introduced in this Legislature, with the approval of Governor Paca, to make the Episcopal Church the Established Church of Maryland. This was anathema to all Presbyterians. Having fought and won a war for freedom, they did not propose to put their necks again under the yoke. First in the pulpit of First Church, Dr. Allison inveighed against such "oppression"; then followed a series of newspaper articles later published in a pamphlet entitled *Candid Animadversions*, under the pseudonym of "Vindex." If you

bear in mind that "animadversions" means "criticisms," even a casual reading of this pamphlet justifies the adjective "candid." One or two sentences bear repeating here;—one from the introduction, and another from the conclusion of the argument:

Nor is it my wish to disturb the Reverend Dr. S.² in his retirement from the world and the things of the world, where he is inhaling copious draughts of sublime contemplation, purifying himself by a course of mental recollection, contrition and extraordinary devotion for the mitred honors to which he is destined.

and—

. . . the blood of heroes says no . . . an immortal leader says no to ecclesiastical usurpation raising her hideous head in our fair land. . . The God of heaven says no, who expects and commands them to stand fast in the liberty wherewith he has made them free.

All history knows the result of that private war of good Dr. Allison. The separation of Church and State has long since been a principle of our country, but too commonplace nowadays for many to even wonder how it came about.

But lest I represent Dr. Allison merely as a controversialist, may I hasten to sketch into his portrait some relieving details. While he was winning his fight to prevent an established church, he was the warm friend of the rector of St. Paul's Parish, so that in his battle for separation of Church and State there was nothing personal. Indeed, at this very time, he was cooperating with the rector of St. Paul's Episcopal Church and with Archbishop Carroll of the Roman Catholic Diocese in establishing the first free library of the city, and in creating a new school, called Baltimore College (although this latter project was not ultimately successful).

As well as being a champion of the Church to the outside world, Dr. Allison was equally careful so to frame the government of the church itself that human rights should be protected. The question of the right of free speech agitated not only the young states, but also the Presbyterian Church itself. It was because of his influence in the Presbytery of Baltimore that it adopted the following resolution on April 21, 1790. A proposal was made then to discipline "those who publish opinions contrary to the light of nature, or to the known principles of Christianity . . ." Presbytery declared for the right

² Evidently Rev. Dr. William Smith, Provost of the University of Pennsylvania and founder of Washington College, Chestertown. He was elected to the office of Bishop but for some reason was never consecrated.

of Free Speech in unmistakable terms, phrasing any opposition to it as

a sentiment inconsistent with the civil power existing in our happy country which permits and ought to permit every inhabitant to publish what he pleases for or against natural or revealed religion in whole or in part.

It may be well also to point out that in protecting free speech and the principle of the separation of Church and State, Dr. Allison was acting exactly as an intelligent Presbyterian would be expected to act. The word "Presbyterian" inherently implies representative government. Dr. Allison, therefore, in these as in other situations, was merely running true to form.

The congregation of First Church grew rapidly. In 1782, Colonel William Fell, of Fell's Point, deeded to the Committee (trustees) an acre of ground first known as the Eastern Burying Ground, located on lower Broadway and held by the Church until 1873, when the site was formally abandoned. Three years later the Committee also purchased from Colonel John Eager Howard the land known as the Western Burying Ground (where Westminster Presbyterian Church has been built, at Fayette and Greene Streets), which is familiar to Baltimore as the resting place of many famous honored dead. It is interesting to note that although these two burying grounds are now in the heart of the city, Dr. Allison thought that they were far enough removed never to be encroached upon.

In 1789, the congregation had grown to such a size that a new church was decided necessary. Built on the same site as the old, it was completed in two years, and served until the present edifice was dedicated in 1859. It was known as the old "Two Steeple Church," and was described as "a spacious, elegant Church capable of accommodating above one thousand Hearers . . . and remains a noble monument of the Builders' generous Zeal." It had a brick floor, and a large gallery. Square pews rented for substantial sums. For music, it had no organ at first but a precentor who "lined" the hymns. It was heated by four huge stoves which were not abandoned until 1842 when Dr. Backus whimsically lamented how he missed the sexton, as a kind of sacred rite, noisily stirring up all four stoves just before his sermon. The sexton, of course, sat in his famous green spindle chair under the pulpit. It is remarkable to note that a grandfather, father and son successively occupied the office of sexton for more than a century of time, from 1826 to 1930.

An interesting sidelight on the life of the Church in those days comes to us in the published diary of Noah Webster, the lexicogra-

pher. As a young man he journeyed to Baltimore in June, 1785, and sought permission to open classes in music and for the study of French. His diary notes his frequent breakfasts with Dr. Allison, who offered him the use of First Presbyterian Church for his singing school. Mr. Webster then selected ten men of the Church and trained them that summer until September, when they sang in Church, and as Mr. Webster enthusiastically reported, "astonished all Baltimore." During this period also, young Mr. Webster was composing his lectures on the English language, portions of which he read to Dr. Allison over the breakfast table, and at Dr. Allison's request, first delivered them in the Church, thereby starting a lecture tour that definitely fixed his life's vocation.

When George Washington died in 1799, Dr. Allison was so grieved by the loss of his dear friend that his health began to fail. He had served the congregation of First Church from 1763 faithfully and capably, and had the respect and affection of everyone. His remarkable intellect and Christian personality had impressed itself deeply upon the city. The *Historical Discourse* written by Dr. Backus in 1859 describes Dr. Allison accurately and finely as "a man of parts." Unfortunately for us, by his own order all of Dr. Allison's papers and writings were destroyed after his death, so that we are deprived of much rich material which would undoubtedly throw light upon this interesting period of history. One specimen only of his writing remains in the records of the Church. The "Pastor's Staff," his gold-headed cane, has been bequeathed to each of his successors in turn, and with their names engraved in gold bands upon it, is one of the prized relics of the Church today.

Before Dr. Allison's death in August, 1802, the congregation was endeavoring to secure an assistant for him who would become his successor. They first issued a call to Dr. Archibald Alexander, later to become famous in Princeton. He, however, declined the call when he discovered that some objection existed to his strict notions of Church discipline. A second candidate was invited to preach—the remarkable Dr. Thomas Glendy. Dr. Glendy had barely escaped with his life from Ireland years before, and he was recommended strongly to First Church by President Jefferson. A minority of the congregation favored his election as pastor, but ultimately the majority favored issuing a call to Dr. James Inglis, a former law-partner of Alexander Hamilton in New York, who had abandoned law to read theology under Dr. John Rodgers. Dr. Inglis accepted the call, and was pastor until his death in 1819, a man fit to succeed his

distinguished predecessor. Since a minority of the congregation favored Dr. Glendy, they decided at this time to withdraw and established the long-discussed Second Presbyterian Church. This was accomplished in 1802, so that the city then had two strong Presbyterian churches instead of one.

In First Church, on the eve of the War of 1812, it was decided to take the drastic step of installing an organ. This mightily offended a number of people, even though the records of the Committee show us that the organ was brought to the Church from New York City on the schooner *Consolation*. But these same records contain the fervent protests of several indignant families.

In 1814 the story is told that a messenger arrived breathless at the Church one Sunday morning with the news that the British had landed at North Point. Waiting only for the benediction to be pronounced properly, the congregation streamed out, women and children to safety, and the men to the road where the invader was expected.

The gracious pastorate of Dr. Inglis came to a close suddenly in 1819. Two years previously an unfortunate incident had occurred which marred his happiness deeply. He arrived at the mid-week lecture service one night not in condition to speak well because that afternoon he had accepted the proffered hospitality of too many families on whom he had made pastoral visitations. Acting upon a protest from some of the people, he sought to be released from the pastorate at once, but the congregation prevailed upon him to remain with them. If anyone sees any element of humor in the situation, let him read the account of it which Dr. Inglis penned with his own hand. It will cure anyone of making light of such an incident, for his final years of ministry were saddened by the unfortunate occurrence.

It was during Dr. Inglis's ministry that Baltimore first heard of Sunday schools. In 1815 a vacant store building was rented by the Church, and the work of instructing youth in religion was begun, which formerly had been carried on only in family groups. As I mentioned before, Colonel James McHenry, of distinguished name, was one of the first superintendents of this Sunday school.

Following the close of the Napoleonic Wars, the force of the Romantic Movement had spent itself, and was succeeded in this country by a more normal era. Baltimore shared in the rapid growth which took place in the entire United States southeast of the Mississippi River. The atmosphere of religion quite changed. Deism was

largely forgotten. It was a Presbyterian habit, then, to report once a year to Presbytery on the "State of Religion," and the following extract from the 1814 Minutes of Baltimore Presbytery reflects a note of optimism which explains the fortunate growth of the Presbyterian Church in Baltimore in the next decade:

In all our churches appearances are promising. The leaven has fermented and is leavening the whole lump. The mustard seed is rising and the little stone cut out without hands from the mountains is increasing in magnitude. Public worship is everywhere better attended, both in the morning and evening of the Lord's Day. There is greater sense of the importance of religion, Family Worship is more generally practised, and dissipation is less relished, and the pleasures of the world are embittered to many. Infidelity is less openly avowed. Its pestiferous voice is only heard in a whisper and its bold front when it appears is generally discountenanced. The spiritual principle has acquired a commanding influence over many minds impelling an increased and increasing number to bear an open testimony to the Truth at the Holy Table.

The third minister of First Church was a young man named William Nevins, who settled in the city in October, 1820, and for the next fifteen years wrought a brilliant work in the pastorate. As a young preacher with remarkable evangelical gifts, it was his fortune to preach the famous sermon on March 7, 1827, when a revival occurred in which over two hundred persons made religious professions, and through which the whole city was stirred. In company with Dr. John Breckinridge, then pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church, and the Reverend Mr. Summerfield, a Methodist missionary in Baltimore, William Nevins had participated in a remarkable preparation which culminated in this outstanding revival season. It was Dr. Backus years later who frankly attributed much of his own success to the effects of Dr. Nevin's remarkable ministry. In 1835, Dr. Nevins, after several years of ill health, finally passed away.

During the interval when Dr. Nevins was on leave of absence in the West Indies, hoping to regain his health, a strange episode occurred. One James McCulloh formally sought permission of the Committee for the use of the Church in which to hold the National Convention of the Democratic Party. It was at this Convention that Martin Van Buren was nominated for President. Certain repercussions followed this permission, however, and in the correspondence of the Committee these protests are still recorded. A solemn resolution therefore appears in the minutes that never again shall the Church be used for anything but a religious purpose.

With the coming of the youthful Dr. John Chester Backus, in

1836, a whole new era began in First Presbyterian Church. A scion of the famous Backus family in Connecticut, a gifted scholar, a man of exquisite insight, he seemed to combine many rare qualities of personality in a most harmonious fashion. Though his modesty constantly declined credit for his remarkable ministry, it was his statesmanship which developed the resources of First Presbyterian Church as well as aiding the growth of the Presbytery of Baltimore. Within a year after he came, First Church was host to the Committee of General Assembly which organized the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions. It was Dr. Backus also who renovated the old Two Steeple Church in 1844 to better adapt it to the uses of the day. Following a visit to Scotland, he formed a friendship with the Reverend Dr. Thomas Chalmers, and brought home from that trip the idea of systematic benevolences which was an entirely new idea to this country, but which is now a commonplace in Church methods.

Dr. Backus's pastorate was singularly blessed in many ways. Though his methods were gentle, he did not hesitate to take drastic steps. He interested himself in what he called "colonizing"; that is, creating new churches in Baltimore Presbytery as the city grew beyond old limits. He recognized the need of establishing new churches, and after mature thought, Franklin Street Church was organized by asking a number of Presbyterian families to leave his Church, and Second Church as well, and providing for them the funds to erect a new building in 1844. The story of this colonizing is an interesting one. For when he retired, Dr. Backus had established eighteen new Presbyterian churches in the city. A legend which seems to have real substance of fact is that when Dr. Backus decided a new church should be built, he was accustomed to read out the names of a number of heads of families from his pulpit, inviting them to meet with him. He would then explain the need for a new church and ask them to sell their homes where they lived and erect new homes in the vicinity of the church site he had chosen. It is a tribute to the affection that his people bore him that they followed his invitations over and over again. Nor did Dr. Backus ever spare himself by keeping his chosen families. Repeatedly he testifies to the real sorrow it gave him to advise "the firstlings of the flock," and "the very flower of the congregation" to leave him to start these new enterprises.

Shortly after 1850 the need of removing First Church congregation to a new site began to be discussed. Eventually this resulted in the selection of the present location of the church at Madison Street

and Park Avenue. Work was begun on the present building in 1854, following plans executed by N. G. Starkwether. As the work progressed, Mr. Starkwether was assisted by a young English architect, Mr. E. G. Lind. On September 25, 1859, the congregation of First Church held a farewell service in the old Two Steeple building, to which all the old members who had gone out to other churches were invited to return. The following Sunday, October 1, 1859, the new church was dedicated, substantially as it stands today, except that the towers were added in 1874. The building was dedicated free of debt, although it represented an outlay of about two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, provided by the generosity of a faithful congregation. The Brown family alone gave more than one hundred thousand of this amount. The delicate beauty of the edifice still stands as a witness of the vital faith of the generation which built it. And the fact that it still serves its purpose testifies to the sturdy quality of their building.

Since this sketch was designed to deal with old Baltimore Presbyterians, this would seem a logical stopping place for this casual narrative. It is offered seriously as a reminder to us of our great heritage from a sturdy people.

FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH MEMBERSHIP, 1766-1783

From the original subscription book for the support of the minister of the First Presbyterian Church of Baltimore during the years 1766 to 1783, made available for this purpose by Dr. John H. Gardner, Jr., the names of 304 persons have been transcribed by the editor and arranged for convenience in alphabetical order. Representing the leading dissenting group in the population, they supply a partial list of the inhabitants of Baltimore during these years. The book, obviously kept by the Secretary of the Committee, contains five complete rosters dated, respectively, Sept. 10, 1766, Sept. 1, 1770, July 19, 1773 (2 drafts) and Sept. 1, 1783. Since in the original each list is arranged numerically by pew numbers, many duplications occur, most if not all of which have been eliminated in the rearrangement. Three of the rosters bear the autographs of the subscribers. The first for 1773 includes leaders in the Committee of Observation like Samuel Purviance, John Smith and William Buchanan. Each list indicates changes made from time to time as members died, moved away or shifted to other pews, so that a great many names have been crossed out. These, however, have been included in the cumulated list here given. Significant notes following names have been included, with indication of the roll in which they appear.

Dates, following the names, so far as they agree with the dates given above, indicate the particular list or lists in which the names appear. Other dates (for example "Patton, Abram, May 12, 1769") indicate that such entry appears on the roster of next earlier date, in this case that of 1766. Obviously each roster, served as the official record till a new one was prepared. It is therefore assumed that Patton, although his name is in the roster for 1766, first united with Dr. Allison's flock in 1769. Names omitted because not decipherable are few.

The pledge which heads the roster of 1766 is as follows:

We the Subscribers do hereby oblige ourselves to pay yearly or every year the Several Sums by us affixed to our Names respectively, for the Support of the Revd. Patrick Allison he continuing to officiate as Minister in the Presbyterian Congregation in Baltimore Town, which Sums Shall be half yearly paid to the Collector appointed by the Committee of Said Congregation. Witness our hands this Tenth Day of September one thousand Seven Hundred & Sixty Six 1766.

Similar but not identical expressions head each of the succeeding rolls.

The subscriptions evidently were voluntary and varied according to the means and liberality of the members. The largest amount promised by one person was £10 2s 6d, pledged by Mark Alexander in 1783, though this was nearly equalled by John Smith's £8 and William Spear's £7 10s in 1766. One pew in 1783 shared by three "takers" produced £12 a year. Some pledged less than £1.

FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH MEMBERSHIP, 1766-1783

Adair, Christie & Buchanan	1766	Bull, John	1773, 1783
Aitkenhead, George	1766	Burney, John	1773, 1783
Aitken, Andrew	1783		
Aiton(?), Thomas	1773	Caldwell, James	1766, 1770
Alexander, John	1773, 1783	Calhoun, James	1770, 1773, 1783
Alexander, Mark	1766, 1770, 1773, 1783	Calhoun, Wm.	1766
Allen, James	1773: no given name; 1783	Cannon, Isaac	Sept. 1778: "Removed"
Allison.	See Hughes, Allison & Hughes	Carmichael, Duncan	1766, 1773
Anderson, James	1766, 1770, 1773	Carson, Hugh	1766
Armstrong, David	1773, 1783	Carson, James	1773
		Carson, Samuel, Junr	1773
		Caulfield, Capt.	Jan. 15, 1781
		Caulfield, Robert	1783
		Chambers, George	1773; Sept. 1, 1775: "Resigned"
Bailey, James	1773: "Resigned"	Chamier, Danl.	1766, 1770; March 1777: "Deported" (or "Departed")
Barney & Stricker	1783	Christie, R., Junr.	Feb. 8, 1775:
Being(?), Alexander	1783	Christie, Robert	1770, 1773
Bentalou, Paul	1773, 1783	Clark, John	1773; Apr. 10, 1775: "resigned"; 1783
Biays, Joseph	Aug., 1781; 1783	Clemen(t)s, Jno.	1766, 1773
Black & McConnell	1773	Clendening, Wm.	1770
Blair(?), Charles	July 1, 1781	Clopper, Cornelius, Junr.	1773, 1783
Blakely, —	1783	Cooper, J.	1783
Blanchard, Samuel	1783	Cooper, William	1783
Boyd, Andrew	1773, 1783	Coulter, Dr.	1773
Boyd, Jas.	1766	Coulter, John	1783
Boyd, John	1766, 1770, 1773, 1783	Courtenay, Hercules	1766, 1770
Brown, David	Sept. 1777, 1783	Cox, Mrs.	1773
Brown, George	1783	Cox, Jas.	1766, 1770
Brown, John	1773, 1783	Cox, Mary	1783
Brown, Justus	1773, 1783	Cravath, Lemuel	1766, 1770, 1773
Brown, Samuel	1770	Creavy (Creevey), Hanse (Hans)	Mar. 1777; 1783
Bruce John.	See McMechan, Alexander	Crosby, Josiah	1773, 1783
Bryden (Brydone), James	1783		
Buchanan, A[ndrew]	1766		
Buchanan, William	1766, 1770, 1773, 1783		

- Cross, Samuel May 4, 1770; 1770: "elopd"
- Davidson, Andrew 1773
- Davison, John July 7, 1772
- Deaver(?), John 1773; Sept. 1, 1775: "resigned"
- Dewitt (Divitt?), Thomas 1773
- Donaldson, Alexander Dec. 1775, 1783
- Donaldson, Joseph 1773, 1783
- Dugan, Cumberland March, 1781, 1783: "resigned"
- Duncan, William 1770, 1773, 1783
- Dunlop, William 1766
- Elliot, Thomas 1773, 1783
- Emmit, David 1779, 1783
- Evans, David 1773, 1783
- Ewing & Brown 1766
- Ewing, Thomas 1770, 1773; Oct. 4, 1774: "Resigned"
- Finlater. See Ross & Finlater.
- Folger, Capt. 1773
- Folger, Frederick 1783
- Forster, Abm. 1766
- Forsyth & Payne 1766
- Fraser, Hugh 1770
- Frazer, James 1773
- Galbraith, Wm. 1766
- Galloway, James 1766, 1770, 1773
- Gambie(?), Wm. 1766
- Garritson, Cornelius 1773, 1783
- Gilmor, Robert 1773, 1783
- Gordon, John Oct. 16, 1769; 1770, 1773, 1783
- Gowld(?), John 1773, 1783
- Griest (Grist), Isaac 1773, 1783
- Griffith, Benjamin 1773
- Hadien(?), John 1766
- Hall, J. C. 1783
- Hall, Mrs. Margaret 1773, 1783
- Hall, Philip 1773, 1783
- Hammand(?), Gri --- 1783
- Hanna, William 1773
- Harris, Charles Sept. 4, 1776
- Harris, David 1773, 1783
- Harris, William 1766, 1770, 1773: "gone away"; 1783
- Hart, John 1766, 1770, 1773
- Haslet, Samuel June 5, 1780, 1783
- Haslett, Moses 1773, 1783
- Haslett, W. 1783
- Hawkins, James 1773
- Hawkins, John 1773, Sept. 25, 1774
- Hawkins, William 1773
- Hay, John Jan. 15, 1781
- Hay(e)s, James Nov. 26, [1773?] 1783
- Hayes, John 1783
- Heath(?), Samuel 1783
- Helm, Gore(?) 1783
- Helm(s), George 1770: "Helems"; 1773
- Henderson, Robert 1773
- Hindman, Robert 1783
- Holliday, James 1766, 1770, 1773: "Gone." Also spelled Haliday and Holiday
- Holms, John 1783
- Howell, Jehu 1770, 1773: "Out of town"
- Hughes, Allison & Hughes 1766
- Hughes, Christo[pher] 1773
- Ireland, Mr. 1773, 1783
- Islar, Geo. Sept. 1, 1772
- Johnston, Christopher 1773, 1783
- Kelso, James 1766, 1770, 1773, 1770: "Ditto for a gentleman unknown"; 1783: "for a gentleman unknown."
- Kennedy, Murdoch 1770, 1773
- Kennedy, Patrick 1773: "To pay one-third of ye above. N. B. P. Kennedy will pay but is accountable for no part of the above seat"
- Key, Andrew 1783
- Kidd, John Mar. 1, 1771
- King, W. 1773
- Kingston, Nathaniel 1783
- Knox, William 1773: "till John Riddle's return Sept. 1st."; 1783

- Lawrence, Mrs. 1773
 Lawrence, Daniel 1773
 Lawrence, Richard 1783
 Lawson Stenhouse & Mackie 1766
 Lieth, Alexander 1766, 1770
 Ligget. See McElderry & Ligget
 Little, John 1766, 1770, 1773:
 "Dead"
 Long, Alex. 1766
 Long, James June 10, 1778
 Long, Thomas 1773: "gone away"
 Lowrey, John 1766, 1770: "dec'd."
 Lowrey, Robert 1766, 1770
 Lowry, Widow 1773
 Lux, George (after Sept. 1778)
 Lyon, William 1766, 1770, 1773,
 1783
 Lyston, James 1773, 1783

 McAlister, John Mar. 1781, 1783
 McBryde, Hugh 1783
 McCabe, John 1773
 M'Candless, George 1773, 1783
 McClellan, John 1766, 1770: "Mc-
 Cleyland"; 1773, 1783
 McClelland, David 1766 and 1770:
 "McCleyland"; 1773: "resigned"
 McConnell, —. See Black &
 McConnell
 McConnell, Charles 1773
 McCord, James 1783
 McCullough, — 1783
 McCullough, James 1783
 McDonogh, John Mar. 1, 1776
 McElderry & Ligget 1783
 McFaddon, J. & J. 1783
 McGaughen, William 1770
 McGuffen, Joseph 1770
 McHenry, Daniel, & Son 1773
 McHenry, James 1783
 McHenry, John 1773, 1783
 McIlroy, Alice 1773
 McIlroy, Fergus 1773, March 1,
 1776: "dead"
 McKim, Alexander 1773
 McKim, John 1773: "Resigned"
 McKim, Robert 1773
 McLaughlin(?), George Aug. 5,
 1766
 McLure, Alexander 1766, 1770,
 1773: "Dead"
 McLure, David 1766, 1770, 1773
 McLure, John 1766, 1770, 1773,
 1783
 McMechan, Alexander 1766, 1770,
 Mar. 1, 1771: "for John Bruce";
 1773
 Mack, Geo. 1766
 Mackie (Mackey), Ebenr. 1770,
 1773: "resigned"; 1783
 Magoffin, Joseph 1773: "resigned";
 Sept. 1, 1778: "resigned"
 Malcom, And(?) 1766
 Marshall, James Sept. 1, 1772;
 1773
 Marshall, Samuel 1773
 Martin, John May 1, 1780; 1783
 Mather, Capt. 1783
 Mather, John 1773
 Mattison, Aaron 1766, 1770, 1773,
 1783
 May, Benjamin 1773, 1783
 Mease, Wm. 1766
 Merryman, John 1766
 Miller, Wm. 1766
 Mo ---, Jno. J. 1766
 Moore, Robert 1770, 1773: "for
 Elizth Payne & Self"; 1783
 Moore, Ruth 1773
 Moorehead, Michael 1773
 Moreton, David 1773
 Morrison, Hans 1773, Jan. 1, 1781
 Morrison, Samuel 1773, 1783
 Mosher, James 1783
 Mosher, Philip 1783
 Myers, Charles 1783

 Neale(?), William Mar. 1, 1782
 Neill, William 1770, 1773, 1783
 Newton, Capt. 1773
 Nicholson, Capt. James Mar. 1, 1777
 Nickoll(?), William 1773; 1783:
 "Nicoll"
 Oliver, Robert 1783
 Orrick, C. 1766

 Pannell, Edward 1773, 1783

- Pannell, John 1783
 Patrick, J. 1783
 Patterson, William 1773, 1783
 Patton, Abram^m May 12, 1769; 1770, Mar. 1, 1774
 Patton, Matthew Mar. 4, 1771; 1773, 1783
 Payne, Mrs. 1770
 Payne, Elizabeth 1773
 Payson, — 1783
 Pearson, Mrs. 1766, 1770: "Mrs. Person"
 Pearson, Henry 1766
 Pearson, John 1773: "resigned"
 Pennell (Pannell), John March, 1781, 1783
 Pierce, Humphrey 1773, 1783
 Pierson, Sarah 1773
 Pilkington(?), Thomas June 7, 1780
 Plowman, Jonathan 1766, 1770, 1773
 Poe, David Sept. 1776, 1783
 Poe, George Sept. 1778, 1783
 Polemus, Joseph 1773: "resigned"
 Purviance, John 1783
 Purviance, Robert 1766, 1770, 1773, 1783. Also 1783: "for Hugh Young"
 Purviance, Samuel, Jun^r 1773, 1783

 Riddle, Robert 1773, 1783
 Robb, William 1783
 Robinson, Andrew Mar. 1781: "Robeson"; 1783
 Robinson, Ephraim 1783
 Roddey, Sa. 1766, 1770
 Rodgers & C. Orrick 1766
 Rogers, Mrs. 1783
 Rogers, Widow Aug. 1, 1781
 Ross & Finlater 1783
 Rusk, David 1766, 1770, 1773, 1783

 St. Clair, William 1773
 Salmon, George 1773, 1783
 Sanderson, Francis 1773
 Sanderson, Margaret 1773
 Service(?), Capt. 1773
 Shields, David Feb. 20, 1779
 Sinkler, William 1770

 Sloan, James 1783
 Smith, Jas. 1766, 1770, 1773: "Resigned"
 Smith, John 1766, 1770, 1773, 1783
 Smith, Joseph 1773, 1783
 Smith, Nathan^l 1770, 1773, 1783
 Smith, Sam 1773, 1783
 Smith, Thomas 1773, Mar. 1, 1776: "given up"
 Smith, W. 1783
 Smith, William 1766, 1770, 1773
 Somerville (Somervell), James 1783
 Spear, John 1783
 Spear, William 1766, 1770, 1773, 1783
 Stenhouse. See Lawson Stenhouse & Mackie
 Stenhouse, Alexander 1770; Dec. 1775: "gone off"
 Sterett, James 1766, 1770, 1773, 1783
 Sterett, John 1773, 1783
 Sterling, James 1783
 Stevenson, Henry 1766
 Stewart, David 1766, 1770, 1773, 1783
 Stewart, Robert 1783
 Stoddard, Capt. Aug. 1, 1781
 Stodder, David 1783
 Stricker. See Barney & Stricker
 Swan, John 1783
 Swan, Matthew 1773, 1783

 Taylor, Mrs. 1783
 Taylor, Alexr. Sept. 1, 1772
 Taylor, J. (or I.) 1766
 Taylor, William 1773, 1783
 Thomas, Robt. 1766
 Thompson, Jno. 1766, 1770, Mar. 1775: "dead"
 Thompson, John Sept. 1, 1781, 1783
 Thompson, William 1783
 Timsey(é), Edward 1783
 Toole, Susannah 1783
 Torrance, Charles 1773: "Torrens" June 24, 1780; 1783
 Tulor(?), George 1773: Resigned(?) 1775

VanBibber, Abm.	1770, 1773, 1783,	Williams, Geo.	1766
		Williams, Joseph	1773, 1783
Walker, Mrs.	1773	Williams, Joshua	June 18, 1768
Walker, Robt.	1766	Williamson, David	1773, 1783
Wallace, —	1783	Williamson, John	1783
Wallace, John	1773	Wilson, Capt. Hugh	1783
West, Benj.	1766, 1770: "Resigned"	Wilson, Stephen	1773, 1783
Westbay, Wm.	1766, 1770, 1773	Wilson, William	1766, 1773, 1783
Whadon(?), Alexander	May 11, 1780	Young, Charles	1773
		Young, Hugh	Mar. 1777, 1783

BUCHANAN FAMILY REMINISCENCES

[A glimpse of Baltimore a century and more ago, together with some of the customs that then obtained in a representative family—the Buchanans—is supplied in the following reminiscences set down by Miss Amy Hutton of Brookeville, Maryland, as she had them long since from her late mother, Mrs. Orlando Hutton, née Sydney Claire Buchanan. For this paper the Magazine is indebted both to Miss Hutton and to Mrs. Mark Sullivan who brought it to our notice.

It was in 1759 that William Buchanan, a merchant of Carlisle, Pennsylvania, moved to Baltimore and set up a shipping business. He served on the committee that built the First Presbyterian Church, was a commissioner of the town, was appointed in 1777 by the Continental Congress commissary general of the Army, and two years later declined a proffered appointment to the United States Senate. He died in 1804.—*Editor.*]

Only five of the twelve children of William Buchanan and Esther Smith lived to grow up—great aunts Sydney, born 1753, Mary, 1757, Margaret (always called Peggy), 1758, Grandfather William, 1762, and Great Uncle James A., 1768. Aunts Sydney and Peggy never married. Aunt Mary (known to Mother and her sisters always as Aunt Allison) married a Dr. Allison¹ who died leaving her with one child, Esther, who married a Mr. George W. Brown and had seven children. Great grandfather, shortly before his death near the close of the eighteenth century, caused to be built two houses on Gay Street exactly alike, separated by a small piece of ground, for his daughters. Aunts Sydney and Peggy lived in one, and Aunt Allison and her daughter Esther and her family in the other.

Grandfather William was considered a confirmed bachelor. He had no business occupation and went into the consular service. His younger brother James succeeded his father in the shipping firm of Smith and Buchanan. This was a family, as well as a business, connection, for John Smith and William Buchanan were brothers-in-law, John having married Mary, William's sister, and William married John's sister Esther. They established a shipping business in Baltimore and became very prosperous. Their ships were of the fast sailing kind known as "clippers" and were built at different points along the Atlantic coast, many of them in Chesapeake Bay. They

¹ Dr. Patrick Allison, first minister of the First Presbyterian Church.

had ships in all the Seven Seas, that were trading vessels, bringing great quantities of Oriental and East Indian goods, as tea, silks, crepes, china, spices, oils and also West Indian tropical fruits. They had their own counting house and wharf, still known as "Buchanan's Wharf." Great uncle married a Miss Calhoun and had seven children. Grandfather William, the bachelor, went to the Isle of France, a French possession in the Indian Ocean northeast of Madagascar. It was a port of call for many of the vessels en route for the Orient. It had been settled first by the Dutch, who named it Mauritius, after an Elector of Saxony, then the French took it, called it l'Île de France, settled it, and established spice plantations worked by negro slaves from Africa. Some of these plantation owners were wealthy, and belonged to the French upper class or gentry and lived according to French custom and fashions.

Grandfather Buchanan soon became acquainted with them and promptly fell in love with the eldest daughter of Monsieur Merven, who owned a spice plantation, and was married in 1804 to Mlle. Marie Louise Merven. She had a sister Elise who later married the Governor of the nearby island of Bourbon, also a French possession. His name I do not know. Grandfather and Grandmother had five children. The first, William, died in infancy. Then four girls, Esther, Louise (always called Lise) then Amelie, and Sydney, our mother. Grandfather expected to remain only a few years in the consular office at Port Louis, intending to return to the U. S. to bring up his family among his relatives. But time slipped by, and while arranging his affairs to return he was taken with a violent tropical fever and died after three days' illness. This must have been in 1817. Grandmother then wrote to Uncle James, telling of his death and that she would carry out his wishes.

As soon as Uncle Buchanan received the news, he sent off a swift sailing vessel to take Grandmother a letter saying that arrangements were being made for her journey and by what ship, and when it would call at Port Louis. When the ship arrived, she said good-bye to all her relatives and her native land, and embarked with her four little girls, a negro maid, and such of her possessions as she could bring. The voyage lasted three months. Rounding the Cape of Good Hope, the vessel encountered a violent storm which frightened Mother so much that she was ever after afraid to go on the water, even in a safe steamboat. The ship stopped at St. Helena for water. At that time Napoleon was held there a prisoner by the English. At last the wearisome voyage ended at Baltimore, and when Uncle

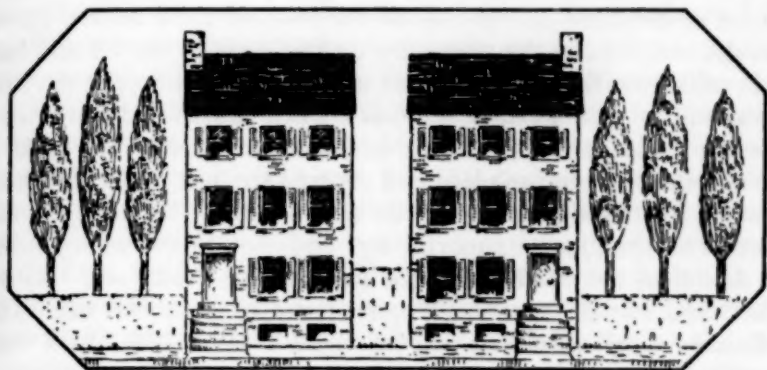
Buchanan was informed of its arrival he hurried down to the dock in his double carriage with his negro coachman to meet his French sister-in-law and his little nieces. He went on board to greet them and the captain, and then arranged with the custom officials about their baggage. The India muslins and crepe shawls were listed as wearing apparel, but he advised Grandmother to put them on the children, so they left the vessel each wrapped in a crepe shawl. Her silver tea service and four solid silver vegetable dishes were considered dutiable. Then he took them to the house of his two sisters on Gay Street, where they were to live.

These two aunts, Sydney and Peggy, were old ladies, very set in their ways. They had two elderly servants whom they had owned but had set free long before, Abram the butler and Matilda the cook, who were just as set and precise as their mistresses. There were other maids who came and went from time to time, but these two were family fixtures, and considered themselves so. The habits of all of them were inexorably fixed. They lived by the clock. Every thing was done every day in the same way, and at the same hour, as the day before. Shortly before each meal Abram would come into the dining room with a small roll of stair carpet. This he unrolled gradually, laying it carefully over the floor carpet from pantry to cupboard to sideboard and around the table and walked on it while setting the table and bringing dishes from the kitchen. When all was ready he called the ladies (after taking up the carpet strip). I do not know if he put it down when clearing up after the meal, but he probably did. Mother told us how she would sometimes come into the dining room and, perched on one of the broad old Chippendale chairs, watch him fascinatedly. He polished the silver on a certain day of the week, the knives after each meal, standing them upright in the mahogany knife boxes at each end of the sideboard.

I have no knowledge of his other duties, except taking a drink of water to the ladies every afternoon at four o'clock. They always took an afternoon nap, each in a corner of the old Chippendale sofa which, with chairs that matched it, was in a sitting room next the parlor. Exactly at four o'clock Abram would take a pitcher and go to the town pump a few blocks away, pump it full three times to cool it and with the fourth pitcher full present himself at sitting room door, knock, and enter. Aunt Peggy would sit up and say "Is it four o'clock, Abram?" "Yes, Madam, the town clock jus' done struck." "Did you cool the pitcher three times, Abram?" "Yes, Madam, three times." Then each would drink a glass of water. This

daily observance of what was considered good for their health was so interesting to the two younger children, Aunt Amelie and Mother, that sometimes they would steal along the passage and peep through the key hole to see the old ladies asleep and then watch Abram execute his part in the daily function.

Great Aunt Peggy was an active, positive little woman who spoke her mind freely on any subject. She was very capable, and managed the household affairs entirely. Aunt Sydney was about seven years older. She was gentle and languid in her manner and inclined to be sentimental at times, which always aroused Aunt Peggy's ire. There



Nos. 17 and 19 (later 104 and 106) North Gay Street, built about 1800 for his daughters by William Buchanan, merchant patriot. The site is now part of Memorial Plaza. Sketch by Miss Elise Hutton from original painting on a pier table. See page 268.

was an elderly French gentleman, a bachelor, who often came to see them in the evenings. Aunt Sydney enjoyed his little attentions and compliments, and when he kissed her hand Aunt Peggy, who had been looking on with disdain, would mutter "The old fool." All the Buchanans were Presbyterians, strict and narrow in their views. Grandmother was a Roman Catholic, a religion abhorrent to the aunts. So it must have been difficult for the precise, elderly women and the much younger sister-in-law—she was thirty-six—to adjust their lives to each other, so utterly different had been their upbringing as well as religion. The three older girls went with their mother to the R. C. Cathedral in the mornings, but the aunts could not endure that the cherished family name of Sydney should be inherited by a Roman Catholic, and as if to snatch a brand from the burning, they insisted that Mother should go to the Presbyterian church on

Sunday afternoons with them. Their instructions, combined with those of the Reverend Dr. Backus, had the effect of causing her to grow up a Presbyterian. What Aunt Peggy thought of her marrying a young Episcopal clergyman is not on record.

The little girls soon became acquainted with their cousins next door, the seven children of Cousin Esther Brown, who lived with her mother, Aunt Allison. Mother's especial chum was Sydney, a girl about her own age, but she had a great affection for George William, the eldest, who became a lawyer and later a judge. He married her devoted friend, Clara Brune. The children were together continually, and the ease and relaxation of Aunt Allison's home made a welcome contrast to the rigid rule in that of the two old maid aunts. Those rules did not relax as the girls grew up and went to parties and had beaux calling on them. There were only open wood fires in the fireplaces, and in cold weather, at nine o'clock exactly, Abram would enter the parlor carrying the big brass warming pan. He filled it with hot coals at the fire-place and covered the rest of the fire with the ashes for the night, then departed to warm the beds for the old ladies. The situation was mortifying, probably, to the young ladies and doubtless the beaux departed too, for the aunts said "Good night" and left the room. The girls led a happy social life. The Buchanans were prosperous and belonged to the "elite" and were related to many of them. But the social set was not too exclusive.

In 1824 Mother was eight years old, and something occurred then which made a great impression on her. In that year General La Fayette made a last visit to this country and was received with great ovations in the cities. Baltimoreans were wild with enthusiasm, and planned a great banquet for him. There was no hall in the city large enough. Uncle Buchanan had built himself a fine house with a great ball room in it which he offered for the banquet, which took place there. It is to be supposed that his sisters were present and that his nieces were in the house. At the beginning of dessert, Uncle Buchanan had Mother brought in and presented to Gen. La Fayette. He rose and made her a courtly bow, to which she responded with a curtsy. Uncle Buchanan had introduced her as his French niece, and she replied to the General in French in the short interview. To her he seemed very old, and she remembered him as a small and very wrinkled old man, and very polite. Whether the older girls were presented I have no record, Mother's own experience of the exalted occasion was so overwhelming that it confused everything else at the time. The girls learned to speak English perfectly, but

their mother always spoke French to them to keep up their knowledge of the language. Aunt Lise was complimented by a visiting French gentleman she met at a party who said she spoke with a Parisian accent.

Aunt Esther married a young lawyer when she was about twenty-three, John Carrere, son of a well-to-do Frenchman living in Baltimore. Aunt Lise was a beauty, and a great belle. Five of the young men she knew wanted to marry her. One young man she knew asked her five times, and then gave it up and became a R. C. priest because he said he could never love any one else. One of the five she loved, her cousin Smith, Uncle Buchanan's fourth son. But Grandmother interposed. Her church forbade the marriage of first cousins; also she thought every man ought to have some occupation, however well off he might be. To meet this, Smith went to Philadelphia and took a course in chemistry. When a fully qualified chemist, he came again for Aunt Lise but Grandmother still objected on religious grounds. The end was that neither of them married. Some twenty years later, Smith came again for Aunt Lise. Grandmother had been dead for some time, Aunt Esther had died leaving six children, the youngest a sickly child of two years. Aunt Lise was keeping house and being a mother to them, and thought it her duty to stay with them. So she said "No" to Smith for the last time, and they never saw each other again. Aunt Amelie married Edward Carrere, a doctor, John Carrere's brother. They had no children, and both died of tuberculosis in their thirties, within a few years of each other.

Grandmother died when Mother was about fifteen or sixteen, of no especial disease, but gradually declined, pining away until she died, as Mother in after years concluded, of nostalgia—home sickness. One can easily understand the tragedy of the changed life for her in leaving her home land and all her relations without her husband to rely on or turn to for sympathy, and come half way around the world to live with two utterly different old women, rigid, though kind hearted as they were, in an utterly different country and climate, and using a language which she spoke with effort and always with a strong accent. It took courage and unselfishness to do it, but she must have felt alien in so different surroundings, although she made friends and met some people who spoke French, Uncle Buchanan among them. She had a cousin who owned a vessel in the West India trade, and when it came in he had Grandmother supplied with the tropical fruits she was so used to. His name was Armand Chateau,

and he settled in Baltimore. He had two daughters younger than Mother. I only knew one of them, Cousin Claire, who married a Mr. Grey of a southern county.

Mother used to speak of some of the old town customs. How the English muffin man went about in the morning calling out "Muffins, English muffins." Always on Sunday Aunt Peggy would go to the front door and buy them to be toasted for breakfast. Always, too, on Sundays during the winter there was boiled turkey for dinner, with egg sauce. Why never roasted, one never knew, perhaps only habit. The girls went to a school kept by two French ladies, the Misses Marcilly. They were very strict as to deportment and conversation, which was always in French, though there were classes in English too. The girls sat on benches and were continually admonished to sit up straight so as to keep a straight back. Mother was somewhat delicate, and having a weak spine, was allowed a chair so she could lean back. Apparently she did not go out socially as much as the older girls, but she had some devoted friends. Two of them were Episcopalians with whom she went to St. Paul's Church, and there she saw and heard the young assistant minister, Orlando Hutton, afterward met him at her friends' homes and finally married him, relinquishing the Puritan severity for a more liberal religion. She was twenty-four, and was married December 10, 1840.

Aunt Peggy had told Mother of Revolutionary days when it was considered disloyal to drink tea, and how when they longed for a cup of the beverage that cheers, shutters were closed tight, and doors locked, while the tea was drunk surreptitiously. In contrast to that, and illustrating a custom of that day, this may be mentioned. Some years later, the Aunts were entertaining at tea a visiting French gentleman who spoke English imperfectly. Unaware that the custom of putting the spoon into the cup after drinking the tea, indicated that no more was desired, he left it in the saucer and was immediately offered another cup which he was too polite to refuse, until he had consumed five cups. Then, unable to drink more, in desperation, he put the saucer with the spoon in it on top of the cup and placed the napkin on top of that, with a polite gesture of despair. The Aunts used to tell this with much amusement.

The two houses on Gay Street, which Great Grandfather Buchanan had built for his widowed daughter Mary Allison, and his two unmarried daughters, Sidney and Peggy, were separated by a small piece of ground but had no front yard. These houses are represented as having three stiff-looking trees on either side, on a pier-

table, part of a set of drawing-room furniture made for the Aunts' new house (and of which they were very proud) by a certain Robert Crawford, evidently an expert cabinet-maker. The two card tables are painted with a picture of the town-house on one, and on the other the country house in the Green Spring Valley, the chairs being decorated with small paintings of fruit, flowers, etc. This furniture shows age but is in good condition notwithstanding its one hundred and thirty-odd years.

Back of these two houses was considerable yard space where the young Browns and Buchanans played. The back-yard of the Holliday Street Theatre was directly opposite and afforded a near view of what went on there, and the children perched on their own yard fence were often interested and excited observers. Usually the comings and goings were practical and commonplace enough, but there was always the chance of something entertaining or exciting. One summer to their great joy an elephant was there for a while, probably used in some performance. But no *theatrical* performance did *they* ever see. Play-acting was *anathema* to the rigid Presbyterianism of the Aunts, as savoring too strongly of the devil and all his works.

Gradually, the childish interest in the theatre back-yard merged into adolescent pleasures. Besides parties, balls, tea-drinkings, there were excursions into the country, sometimes to Federal Hill, even to Jones Falls. A favorite walk on Sunday afternoons was to Howard Park where the Monument now stands. Other young people joined them on Gay Street, which made it seem quite a long walk. The Park was beautiful with trees, grass and flowers and afforded ample space for nature-lovers as well as for human lovers.

At Uncle Buchanan's fine house they were always affectionately welcomed, and Uncle himself, the dignified and most important figure in their life. Occasionally he would take them down to Buchanan's Wharf to see some ship come in, a thrilling sight, remembering as the elder ones did, their own voyage of half-round the World. Those ships, which held a vista of romance, and of loss as well; sunk as many of them were during the French and English wars.

THE LIFE OF RICHARD MALCOLM JOHNSTON IN MARYLAND
1867-1898

By FRANCIS TAYLOR LONG

(Continued from Vol. XXIV, page 324)

II. SOME LITERARY FRIENDSHIPS—THE LECTURE PLATFORM,
1882-1889

Life at Pen Lucy, or rather the earliest and most prosperous years of that period, was for Johnston and his family more nearly like their former life in Georgia than any other part of their residence in Maryland. One may readily see the points of resemblance. They lived in the country but were in touch with neighboring cultural environment. They were in intimate communication with the South, their former home, through the students who came from that region to the school. The stimulus for Johnston to write, or by other means to add to the family income, especially in the later years at Pen Lucy, as at Rockby, was much stronger and more urgent. The circle of his friends, which had been appreciably enlarged when, in the later Georgia period, he had moved to Athens for four years of residence at the University there, grew to be much larger and more varied when he came to Maryland. In Georgia or in Maryland—wherever he was—Johnston invariably manifested the power to evoke strong friendships.

Ample evidence exists to prove conclusively that Johnston was a friendly man and that not only during his life in Georgia but also throughout his years in Maryland he continued to add to the group of friends he had hitherto gained. When he left Georgia he lost intimate touch with many friends he had known there; yet he by no means lost touch with all of those whom he had come to love and to hold in friendly esteem in his native State. Especially remembered were the friends he had known in Sparta and in Hancock County, and throughout Middle Georgia, such as the Stephens brothers, both Linton and Alexander H. Stephens. To these also must be added, Sidney Lanier having already been mentioned, the names of Joel Chandler Harris and Frank L. Stanton, both members of the *Atlanta Constitution* staff. Johnston, since he was an intimate friend of Harris, was also well acquainted with Henry W. Grady, Capt. Evan P. Howell, founder of the *Constitution*, and other members of its staff.

This present period was one in which, having already gained for himself a wide group of friends in Baltimore, he enlarged this circle so that it included—either as friends or acquaintances—many of the most notable writers and some of the most talented and popular editors, artists, and illustrators of the day, as is evidenced by the following incomplete list: Edwin A. Abbey, Henry Mills Alden, James Lane Allen, George W. Cable, Samuel L. Clemens (Mark Twain), George W. Curtis, Harry Stillwell Edwards, Edward Eggleston, Eugene Field, A. B. Frost, Hamlin Garland, Richard Watson Gilder, Louise Imogene Guiney, Joel Chandler Harris, William Dean Howells, E. W. Kemble, James Russell Lowell, Edgar W. Nye (Bill Nye), Thomas Nelson Page, James Whitcomb Riley, Arthur Stedman, Edmund Clarence Stedman, Frank L. Stanton, Frank R. Stockton, Richard Henry Stoddard, John Banister Tabb, Celia Thaxter, Charles Dudley Warner, Henry W. Watterson.

Having gained entrance, with Lanier's assistance, into the pages of *Scribner's Monthly* (June, 1879) and into the good graces of its editor, Richard Watson Gilder, Johnston soon came also to contribute to *Harper's Magazine* (February, 1881) and to know its editor, Henry Mills Alden. Harper and Brothers also published the first of his three novels, *Old Mark Langston* (1883). Not long after its publication, he made what appear to have been his first readings from his own works, the selections having been taken from this novel. Before the end of the eighties, Johnston had served as one of a rather large group of literary folk who gave public readings, usually from their own works, in New York, Washington, and other cities in behalf of the American Copyright League in its efforts to make copyright effective. He also gave, between 1880 and 1890, several individual readings and lectures outside of Baltimore and at least one joint reading in Baltimore. Among the other cities included in these several efforts were Indianapolis, Nashville, and Atlanta.

Almost in the middle year of this eventful decade he had enjoyed the good fortune of a journey to Europe, recorded in *Two Gray Tourists* (1885). Earlier still, in what appears to be the most significant year of this period, 1883, he had undergone the varied experiences of losing his earliest literary friend and adviser, Alexander H. Stephens, and of mingling his grief with that of the many friends who mourned this distinguished Georgian; of attending a reunion in Macon of the members of his class (1841), the first to be graduated from Mercer University; and of being compelled to give up the Pen

Lucy School and estate after sixteen years of residence there and to move to Baltimore to a humble apartment. There, while giving himself more and more to writing and lecturing, he continued for a time, with the aid of his daughters, to conduct a smaller day school.

Of these eventful years none seems more important than the year 1883, which may be regarded as a motivating year for the entire period; for Johnston—now keenly aware that his school could not again expand, could not even remain stationary and as much a source of income as it then was but must inevitably dwindle away with each passing year—felt all the more strongly the incentive to devote himself as vigorously as possible to his literary activity. This year was for Johnston literally crowded with important events. Of these happenings none had more to do with the shaping of his future course of action than his removal from the Pen Lucy estate to Baltimore.

Leading up to and ultimately bringing about this decisive turn in affairs—this disappointing end of Johnston's endeavor through the agency of the Pen Lucy School to continue his life in Maryland as a country gentleman after the manner in which he had lived at Rockby—were several contributing factors. Of these the first was the gradual but finally complete loss of the boarding students he had been receiving from the South and likewise a similar reduction in the day-pupil patronage from Baltimore; another was the inability of Johnston so to manage his business affairs during the prosperous years in Maryland as to provide for himself during the lean years which were to follow. "My father never learned the value of a dollar," has been the repeated comment of his daughter, Miss Ruth Johnston. This is an illuminating comment, not only upon Johnston as an individual but also upon a rather numerous group of Southern gentlemen of the old school, who seemed unable to rid themselves of the business handicaps imposed upon them by the semi-feudal way of living which was prevalent in the South before the Civil War.

When the end of the happy and leisurely period of residence at Pen Lucy estate finally arrived in the autumn of 1883, Johnston and his faithful wife and the other members of the family prepared to give up the Waverly home—as years before they had given up the attractive home at Rockby in Georgia—and to make their future home, in harmony with changed conditions and the exigencies of the present occasion, in Baltimore. It was no doubt a sad leave-taking, especially for Johnston and his wife—not only in the autumn of the year but also in the autumn of their lives.

Johnston now moved his family into a building and into a period of their lives which have been described by his daughter Ruth in the following words:

When my father moved into the city of Baltimore from the Pen Lucy estate in 1883, he secured an apartment at 33 Taney Place.¹ A grocery store occupied the first floor of the building; the two upper floors were leased by our family. Each of these floors was nothing but a long room, the stairs to which led up from the outside of the building at the side, and the door at each landing opened directly into each long room. It was a very simple home situated above a grocery store. The first of these long rooms—the second floor of the building—or rather the front part of this room immediately above the grocery store, was partitioned off from the rear by means of screens and curtains and was used as a reception and living room; the rear part of it was used as a kitchen. In the front part of this room was a large iron stove used for heating. The furnishings—everything—were very simple. The upper floor, the top floor of the building, was used as bed rooms for the members of the family. In the reception-living room the school in charge of Amy and Effie was taught. Upstairs my father taught his few private pupils. It was the front portion of the first of these long rooms that became now the meeting place of the cultural élite of Baltimore—a kind of salon.

My older sister Amy, then twenty-five years old (six years older than I), bravely took upon herself the burden of helping to support the family by opening a high class school for children, which was called the Pen Lucy school. She was an unusually sweet and gentle girl and possessed good practical business sense. She was a good student, too, and taught French and German in the school. The school was well organized under her charge, but the work was heavy and wearing upon her and undoubtedly hastened her death, which occurred in March 1885. She died of tuberculosis, leaving the burden of the school to Effie, my younger sister, and to me. Together we carried on the school during the rest of the year. Using the same system which Amy had employed, we continued to conduct the work of the school, upon which the family depended in large measure for support. When Amy first opened the school (about November, 1883), my father continued to teach, upstairs, such private pupils as he could secure. With my father's many friends, and our own, it was a very abundant life, in spite of the hard work.

My father's home soon became a center for distinguished men from Baltimore and elsewhere. All classes and kinds of people came to see us, and anyone who came must be received. There was a continuous succession of callers who came at all times of the day and on all sorts of missions, some of them with letters. As I recall it, one might meet all kinds of people around the big stove in the front room. They knew it was a place where they could find good talk and ready fellowship. It was a life that was rich and full. My father's personality was greater than his writings. He was a charming, big, simple man, who had a capacity for friendship with big men.

Two other memorable events of that year, which came to pass

¹ Now North Avenue, at the southeast corner of the intersection of Maryland Avenue.

even before Johnston had moved from Pen Lucy into Baltimore, were the death of Alexander H. Stephens, at the time newly elected governor of Georgia, March 4, 1883, and the reunion of Johnston's graduation class in Macon at the annual commencement exercises during the semi-centennial celebration of the founding of Mercer University in 1833. Both of these events affected Johnston profoundly, for each focused his mind vividly upon his earlier life in Georgia. Each also brought him back to his native State, and that always stirred him deeply.

It would hardly be accurate to say that news of the illness of Stephens early in March—soon after his inauguration as governor—came as a surprise to Johnston, who was very familiar with the uncertain health of one of his earliest and most cherished friends. In fact, it had long been more or less a mystery to Johnston as to how that frail but dynamic bit of humanity kept himself alive at all. As soon as the news of the death of his friend reached Johnston, he prepared to return to his native State to act as an honorary pall-bearer—one of thirty-seven—and to tender in person a last tribute of respect and affection to one whom he had loved devotedly. As the funeral exercises, an elaborate state affair, did not take place until four days later, March 8, he had ample time in which to arrive in Atlanta.

Johnston had already paid a written tribute of respect to this Southern leader in his *Life of Alexander H. Stephens* (1878). He paid still another tribute to him in his own *Autobiography* (1900). Writing in the late evening of his life, after having called to mind his long friendship with Stephens and the numerous statements he had previously made in his Stephens biography, he doubtless expressed here his frankest, most honest opinion:

Regarding it from every point of view, the being of Alexander Stephens seemed to me the most unique of all with which I have been acquainted. Extremes were more distant from each other, with many various means between. The wise man that he became kept within him very much of the little child. His native irascibility showed itself in middle age and old, as in childhood and youth. An offense, or what he took to be such, roused instant resentment with desire to fight. He challenged to the duel consecutively Herschel (afterwards Governor) Johnston and Benjamin (afterwards United States Senator) Hill. His pride, perhaps rather I should say his vanity, was as exquisitely sensitive to slight, real or apparent, as his own suffering body was to a new, sudden pain. Yet of all men he was the most ready to forgive an enemy.

In the death of Stephens, Johnston lost a sane and wise counselor. If for nothing else, the year would have been memorable for this;

but other notable events were likewise in the matrix of time, one of which was the journey Johnston made about three months later back to Georgia to attend the reunion of his class, the first graduated from that institution when it was at Penfield. Johnston, it was true, was no longer a Baptist, for since 1875 he had been a communicant of the Roman Catholic Church; but when he was a Baptist he had been a Georgian, and he was at heart still a Georgian. The invitation, therefore, must have pleased him, and he accepted it.

Back in his native George—at Sparta, Athens, Augusta, Atlanta, Macon, in almost any part of the State—Johnston would be sure to meet friends, for he had friends not only in Georgia but also in practically every Southern state. Many distinguished Georgians and Southerners, alumni or friends of Mercer, were in attendance upon these exercises, which marked the semi-centennial year of the founding of that institution. He was received into the home of Harry Stillwell Edwards, just across Tattnall Square from the Mercer campus, where both his host and hostess were already known to him.

Not only the meeting and the conversation with so many of these friends of his earlier years but also the class reunion exercises must have stirred deeply the memories within Johnston's mind. Indeed the reunion of the members of the first class graduated from the institution was the climactic point of the celebration and must have produced a profound impression upon everyone who witnessed it. The supreme dramatic moment came when all the members of the class of 1841—only three of them but all still living and in good health at that time—were summoned, after the orchestra had launched into the strains of "Auld Lang Syne," to the platform to greet the large assembly. Harry Stillwell Edwards, Johnston's host, writing many years afterwards in reminiscent vein in the *Atlanta Journal*, observed:

Fifty years had passed, yet there they stood, happy and in health. Johnston was on the left, now erect and apparently seven feet tall. . . . The audience stood up and cheered.

When he had returned to Baltimore, Johnston was again face to face with the impending crisis in his own personal affairs. The struggle with adverse economic and educational conditions to retain possession of the Pen Lucy estate had gone against him. Since the school had failed, the estate itself, heavily burdened by incumbrances, was untenable. He had already realized that; he was merely holding on during the summer at Waverly, where pupils were no longer available, so that he and his family might move into Baltimore in

the autumn when the new term was beginning and would make possible some new income from that source for their support.

Johnston, however, now that whatever income might be secured from his own few private pupils and from the school to be conducted by his two daughters was sure to be slight and insufficient except for the bare support of the family, had decided, as did many other writers of that day, to make his own writings do double duty. They were to serve not only to bring in all possible returns from the publishers but also as material for readings which he would give wherever and whenever possible.

Yet with all of his efforts to aid his three daughters, who had practically been supporting the family ever since the beginning of their residence in Baltimore, the results were evidently sorely disappointing. In spite of the publication of *Dukesborough Tales* (the enlarged and most complete Franklin Square edition) in January, 1883, with the largest immediate circulation of any of his works, and the publication of *Old Mark Langston* in the following winter, it appears that the royalties were insufficient to aid much in the support of his family, even in their modest lodgings. Pathetic but illuminating proof of this and of the similar general condition of the other members of the family is disclosed in a letter written somewhat later by the mother to her eldest son, Malcolm, at the time meeting with the disappointments of a young lawyer in Milledgeville, Georgia:

We are unhappy now about Amy's health, which is certainly precarious. Effie and Ruth will have to teach under Amy's direction. Patrons will gradually find that out, and it may injure the school very much.

The rent of Pen Lucy is doubtful, and if it is collected it will have to go for repairs, interest, mortgage, taxes,—so that no support for us to come from that source. Your Father has no money and has secured no scholars. I sent you the last money, 10.00, which came out of the \$30.00 which I received from the sale of the carriage. Dick is in Baltimore looking for something to do. Albon takes care of himself. So you see the outlook for us. I tell you these things to urge you to do something outside your law for a support, teach some private pupils, get a music scholar or something else. Your Father looks despondent, wearied and troubled, and it is all on account of money.

I work hard, and so do the girls: we try to be cheerful, because it is right, but it is a struggle.

As the years passed and the decade neared its end, even though the school conducted by the girls had fortunately continued after the death of Amy in 1885, the economic condition of the family grew steadily worse and worse. Johnston, in his efforts to better conditions, determined to emulate some of the most popular writers

of the day and to join with some congenial one or more of them in a reading tour.

Early in the spring of 1888, at a time when it appeared to be the major ambition of every writer who had not already gained that pinnacle and regarded himself as capable of doing so to appear on the public platform in either a lecture or a reading, Johnston and Thomas Nelson Page began a correspondence,² the purpose of which was to arrange for themselves a joint reading, or series of readings, under the supervision of J. B. Pond, then at the head of the most successful and best advertised bureau of its kind in the country. Page wrote briefly to Johnston, March 2, 1888, seemingly indicating that the negotiations with Pond were nearing a successful conclusion:

Richmond, Virginia,
March 2nd, 1888.

My dear Colonel:

All right, you can arrange with Pond for us on the basis proposed. If he will not undertake it perhaps it would be best not to attempt anything of the kind this spring. I feel satisfied however that if he would we should make something like \$2000 apiece. Lent is a very good time for Readings.

Yours truly
Thos N. Page

This proposed contract of the two with Pond, however, was never consummated. It appears that for some reason not mentioned Pond, who had in the beginning been in correspondence with Johnston relative to the matter, later resumed the correspondence, not with Johnston but with Page. Pond's aim in doing this appears to have been to arrange a reading for Page alone. In the meantime Johnston seems to have conceived the idea of securing Pond to arrange a similar tour in the South, which would include not only Page and himself but also Harry Stillwell Edwards, a plan which likewise failed to mature.

During that summer the letters between Johnston and Page appear to have been discontinued, but they were resumed in the autumn:

Richmond, Va.
Octo. 25, 1888

My dear Old Colonel:

The adjective is not employed with reference to age—but because all my dear Colonels are "Old Colonels." My professional work has been haling

² Unfortunately not a single one of Johnston's letters relating to anyone of the letters in the remaining portion of this instalment has been discovered. Unless otherwise indicated, each of the following letters is from the Enoch Pratt Free Library's recently acquired collection.

me around of late to Charlottesville, Albemarle, West Va & other places, hence my silence until now respecting the subject of your letter.

Pond wrote or rather wired me some time since to know if I would read one night at Washington, Pa. with you for \$100. I replied to him that I could not go to Pa. for less than \$100 & expenses, and would not for one night, but as to reading with you that was just what I should enjoy. Reading over his letter again I construed it as meaning \$100 to each of us. Then I received a letter from Mr. Somebody, head of an exchange there asking my terms. I referred to Pond & stated \$100 & expenses. Pond then wrote offering that & so did they but changed the day to the 21st Nov, and I accepted as I had to go to New York then. I heard no more about it till your letter came. I should dearly love to have you there at the same time.

As to the tour in the South with Edwards and yourself, nothing would suit me better, if I were not afraid such a tour would injure my profession. "The law (you remember) is a jealous mistress." I think perhaps there would be rather too many for the pecuniary division, though it would be delightful to take a whirl around the compass with such company. Edwards is a nice fellow, and the author of *The Runaways* has genius. I won't say anything about the man [Johnston] who "never can be rough to his women" even in his stories. I should like to take a tour sometime with you. I think as I wrote you before it would all depend on the "management." I would be willing to take the risk of a cruise of a couple of months for a reasonable show to make \$5000 or so. Cable and Twain made a half dozen times this between them. Some time if you say so I will come to Balto. & give a reading with you, on condition that you come here and give another. One prime consideration in this is the chance of getting you in my house.

I know you had a good time in Nashville [Johnston had given a reading in Nashville earlier in the current month] and that they had a good time too. I never enjoyed a visit more. I took my wife down there and we had a lark. I am going to Atlanta to read two or three nights in November or December. Write Pond and get his views as to a run of a month or so for you and myself unless you have made an arrangement with Edwards. If we could make \$1200 a week it might tempt me.

Your truly,
Thos. N. Page

At this point in their endeavors to arrange a lecture tour, Johnston invited Page to come to Baltimore and meet his friends in the University Club and very likely also to discuss the lecture tour. Page's letter, regretfully declining this invitation, indicates that he was soon, as he had already mentioned, to give a reading in Washington, Pa.:

Richmond, Virginia
Nov. 2nd 1888

My dear Colonel Johnston:

I most sincerely wish I could accept your invitation and Maj. Venable's to come to that Club meeting. But it is at this time simply impossible. I am chocked up with law business right now in the very heart of our autumn—our most important term, and I have made that engagement in Washington,

Penn., which I would gladly get out of if I could. It is not the honorarium which has kept me worried at having to decline the invitation; but the honor, and the pleasure I should find in meeting you and your "pals" of the University Club. This has made it a matter of deep regret that I cannot accept the honor.

I expect to see Pond in N. Y. where I have to be shortly; but I will write him and let you hear the result.

Yours cordially,
Thos N. Page

Both of the writers are shown in Page's next letter as still negotiating with Pond relative to a lecture tour, but the exact nature of the tour and of Pond's attitude toward it appear as vague as ever. One indication is that it is to begin in Boston:

Washington, D. C.,
Nov. 22, 1888

My dear Colonel:

I came direct to Washington instead of stopping over in Balto this afternoon as I wanted to do. After telegraphing you I remembered that you had written me if I am not mistaken that you were not in your own house now but out of town, so having taken a peep around the depot I got back on the train and came on. I wanted to see you both to *see you* and to talk over that Boston business. If Pond would take hold of the thing energetically and not crowd too many in to make long division he could make it pay handsomely. I wrote him that I would go if there was money in it. I cannot go otherwise. I believe a tour of a month would pay you and me about \$2000 apiece, if not more, with a good management.

Yours very truly
Thos N. Page

Seemingly the patience of these two Southerners relative to their efforts to secure the coöperation of Pond had now become worn threadbare. Page expresses in his next letter sufficient disgust with Pond for one to infer that his feelings were even stronger than the expression given to them in words. He now favors action—immediate action—independent of Pond, whose cordiality he seems to doubt. In fact, he had already mentally worked out most of the major details for a plan of action:

Richmond, Va.,
Dec. 13th, 1888

My dear Colonel:

As the autumn term draws to a close, I begin to find time to think of the Readings in which I believe there is much money instantan and some by reason of future writing of books. Whether Pond will bother himself to look out for us Southrons I know not. That he will not unless we stand up for ourselves I am sure. So I say let us stand up. Now how about a read-

ing or *two* Readings in Baltimore and Washington on our own hook—with Pond at the D———I—for a short time only of course? As for Richmond, it must be counted out. Richmond will positively not go to a Reading on any terms except absolute gratuity. This I have sadly proved. Professor Schele de Vere lectured here the other evening to sixty souls. I will not read before them any more and if you are wise you will not either. With Balto it is different and I think with Washington. I have engaged to appear before the University Club of Balto at this January meeting on condition that I shall not be expected to receive anything over my actual expenses, beyond a welcome. I wrote at the same time that I contemplated giving a Reading there sometime for which a charge should be made. What do you think of the evening before or the evening after this University meeting? The latter will be Saturday and I thought might suit you. If it does, suppose you secure a hall at our joint expense, and engage some active show man to run the business part, and advise me so that I can send the necessary data for an active advertisement. I am told by partial friends that they will guarantee me 1000 persons. Well, I don't believe that you know but still I think we could raise a tolerably good crowd if we hit a night not taken up by a more popular entertainment, had a good and convenient hall, and were under the management of an active advertiser. Do you know such a man? Do you know D. Buchanan Merryman? He is a most active energetic fellow—an old college mate of mine—and I believe would regard booming me for such a thing as a lark.

My brother-in-law, Wm Cabell Bruce, [Page's first wife was Anne Seddon Bruce, of Charlotte County, Virginia] has offered to attend to the business for me but I know he as a lawyer has not the time, though he would render valuable aid.

Suppose you start the thing at once if you know such a man and see your way to go into it.

I was exceedingly sorry not to see you when I passed through Balto. I am glad you had so pleasant a time up North.

With cordial regards, I am

Yours truly,
Thos. N. Page

We ought to charge \$1 if we go into the thing.

Arrangements for the Baltimore reading, an appearance which had been eagerly anticipated by both Johnston and Page, were at this point rudely interrupted by the sudden death of Mrs. Page in Richmond, just before Christmas and after an illness of only three days. Johnston at once wrote Page a long and tenderly consoling letter—one of numerous similar letters written by him to intimate friends on such occasions—to which Page replied in an equally long letter, assuring Johnston that, of all the many letters of condolence he had received, "None . . . has sunk deeper into my heart than yours."

Since, however, arrangements for the reading had been all but

completed and the date for which it had been planned, January 17, was not far distant, Johnston found it necessary, in order not to lose the advantage he had gained, to secure someone to replace Page and then to go ahead with the reading at the scheduled time. In his dilemma, after much consideration, he finally hit upon the idea of asking another friend, Charles Dudley Warner, to take Page's place.

Warner, who happened at the time to be so engaged that he could not respond to the request made by Johnston, of whom he was very fond, happily thought of enlisting the aid of Mark Twain. Since their residences in Hartford were upon adjoining lots, it was a matter of only a few steps from Warner's residence to the Clemens home. When Warner had explained to Twain the predicament in which Johnston and Page found themselves, Twain, with characteristically impulsive generosity, consented to take Page's part in the reading. With this happy solution of the difficulty agreed upon, Johnston and Twain began at once to make arrangements for their appearance in Baltimore.

In this connection it may be explained that Johnston had met Twain at least about a year earlier, for both had taken part in the readings given under the auspices of the American Copyright League in Washington, March 19, 1888. The earliest letter from Twain to Johnston is dated April 5, 1887, and a statement in it indicates that Twain was already familiar with Johnston's handwriting even though he may not have met him personally at that time. Twain was then busy with his publishing venture in connection with the firm of Charles L. Webster and Company, and Johnston had evidently inquired to learn if the firm was in the market for such a manuscript as he could supply:

Hartford, Apl, 5/87

My dear Sir:

It would not be worth while, for a few years yet, for us to consider new books, for the reason that our wheels are clogged with existing contracts which it must take us a long time to fill. In the subscription trade we publish only two books a year—cannot do justice to more.

I thank you for your note. It is pleasant to my eyes to see your handwriting.

Truly yours
S. L. Clemens

Some insight into the friendship between Johnston and Twain and that between Johnston and Warner, and the fact that at least upon one occasion Johnston had been invited to the Clemens home—and had accepted—is contained in the next letter:

Farmington Avenue
Hartford, Conn.
Nov. 9/88

Dear Mr. Johnston:

We hear that you are coming to the Warners next Thursday, & Mrs. Clemens & I beg that you will cross the lot to our house on Saturday & stay over Sunday. We promise to do our level best to make you comfortable.

Sincerely yours
S. L. Clemens

In the first of the three letters dealing with the Baltimore readings, Twain outlines fully his plans for going down to Baltimore and every important detail concerning the carrying out of the program:

Dear Colonel:

Hartford, Jan. 4/89

Thank you ever so much for your good letter. Mrs. Clemens & I are unspeakably sorry for poor Page; and it goes without saying, that in an emergency like this I am cheerfully ready to break all the promises I have made that I would infest the public platform no more. I would break these promises for either of you, any time, to help you out of a difficulty.

I expect to leave New York for Baltimore about 10 a. m., the 17th, (will telegraph you that morning or the day before), & I must return to New York the next morning. I am thankful to you & to the Club for your offers of dissipation, & I am a willing subject if you, personally, will see to it that I am in bed by 12 that night; otherwise I must not venture, for my business in New York the next day will require a clear head & an unwearied body. I used to be young, but I ain't any mo'—I'm old. If it were left to me, I should carouse at the club too long; but with *you* responsible for a cessation at 12, I shouldn't be afraid.

Our performance should be 110 minutes long. Begin ostensibly at 8 (most likely at 8:10) & end at 10 p. m. Now then, get you to your private den, & read & time your own part of the program with a trustworthy watch, & report to me the exact number of minutes it is going to occupy. Then I will take the rest of the 110 minutes, & select my stuff to meet the requirements. Suppose you allow yourself 60 minutes, & let me have the fifty; or you can take more if you want to—only make sure that you be as exact as you can, so that I may run no danger of making my program too long. If you wish to introduce explanatory talk from time to time, don't leave these remarks to chance, but plan them beforehand, so that they won't *overrun*—& be sure & subtract them from your reading-time. I will do the same. With all the safe-guards we can invent, a first-night's reading is likely to overrun—& that is bad politics.

Let us alternate the readings thus:

1. Johnston,
2. Clemens,
3. Johnston,
4. Clemens—& so on.

We all send you our hearty love.

Yrs ever
S. L. Clemens

From the foregoing letter one may gain an idea of the esteem in which Mark Twain held both of these Southern writers: it was sufficiently strong to cause him to break the pledge he had made on more than one occasion before this, that he had quit the platform and would never return to it. That pledge was, however, probably never intended to apply to such a dilemma as that which confronted Johnston and Page after the death of Mrs. Page.

A letter dated less than a week later and related, of course, to the all-absorbing matter of the forthcoming Baltimore engagement, is of a kind that Twain evidently very much enjoyed writing; for it contains one or two of his cleverest humorous touches:

Hartford, Jan. 9/89

Dear Col:

Private. I shall sneak down to Baltimore on Wednesday, 16th, (by the best train from New York that morning), & go into hiding from all save you. The trip will tire me most to death, & I must have a whole day's rest. Don't let anybody know I am to be there before *Thursday* afternoon. I mustn't put my name on the hotel register until Thursday.

Let Capt. H. P. Goddard tell you what he wrote to me & what I have answered.

Yrs
Mark.

Twain had hardly more than written the preceding letter, however, before he sent another, his final message to Johnston before they met in Baltimore. Though it is brief, it contains a gem or two of advice relative to the matter of successful platform-technique:

Hartford, Jan. 11/89

Dear Colonel:

Thanks, a thousand times for yours of the 9th. I am ashamed to take all the time you are giving me; still, it's an immense convenience to me. Yesterday I found myself making little pencil marks in the margin here & there, to indicate "Here, read very fast, to gain time"—whereas a body ought to read *right*, & never mind about economizing time.

Yrs sincerely
Mark

At last, after the several obstacles that presented themselves had been surmounted by Johnston and his friends, the long-awaited day arrived. Twain, as he had planned, came down to Baltimore on Wednesday, January 16, and spent that evening with Johnston and his family. Miss Ruth Johnston has vivid recollections of Twain as he stood by the mantel in the Johnston home, smoking his pipe

and delivering inimitable discourse to the family group. As he had requested, it was not until the next night and after the joint readings that he was entertained by Johnston and other friends at the University Club. As had been expected, the attendance was large even at the admittance price of one dollar per person in harmony with the original suggestion made by Page.

In the account of the readings next day, January 18, in the *Baltimore Sun*, the reporter added a humorous touch in order better to indicate the surprise and flavor of the excerpts read by Twain from his forthcoming volume, *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court*, including also a graceful tribute to the merits of each reader:

Mr. Samuel L. Clemens and Col. Richard Malcolm Johnston gave an evening's reading to a very large audience in the Concert Hall of the Academy of Music last night. Mr. Clemens, or Mark Twain, as he is wider known, read an unpublished work about a man who was knocked with a crowbar from the nineteenth century backward into the sixth century. Mr. Twain said: "I've read in Baltimore at different times about all I've ever published, so I'll try a chapter of my new work and see how it takes. There are thirty-five chapters of it. If you like it I'll stop at the end of one chapter. If you don't treat me right I'll read you the whole 35. You hear of King Arthur's Knights of the Round Table and the magic of those days. Take a live Connecticut Yankee, like Peters of my story, a mechanic and foreman of fire-arm works, and shovel him back into King Arthur's time and Magic won't have a show. I'll let Peters tell his own tale after the crowbar incident: "I found myself sitting on the ground with a landscape before me and a man riding down upon me with a helmet like a cheese-box with slits in it upon his head. . . . Well, I wanted time to consider while the eclipse grew darker. I said, 'I will let the darkness proceed for a lesson. You shall make me perpetual prime minister and give me one per cent of the increase of the revenue.' " "Well," continued Mr. Twain, "the other thirty-five chapters run on like this."

Mr. Clemens upon a recall narrated his dueling experience when he was a reporter on the *Virginia City Enterprise*. His delightful drawl, persuasive comedy powers and purposely committed speech impediments made the readings a great go. He was dined by a number of friends last night, and stated that he intended to leave for home on the 9:40 train this morning. He has not formed a combination to give a series of readings with Col. Johnston, as erroneously stated by the *New York papers*. Mr. Clemens simply consented to read last night in place of Thos. Nelson Page, who from unavoidable causes, was absent.

Col. Johnston read his story of "The Early Majority of Mr. Thomas Watts," detailing the love affairs of Mr. Watts, his infatuation for his teacher, and the wonderful love letter that has delighted thousands of readers. The inimitable reproduction of dialect by Col. Johnston and his intellectual veiling of the funny in commonplace events was a rare treat to the audience.

Needless to add that Mark Twain's visit to the Johnston home and his substituting for Page on this program was a red-letter event in the Johnston family and is vividly recalled by the surviving members of the family. It gave much aid and cheer—both spiritual and financial—to the struggling family, and added another to the long list of similar gracious benefactions made by Twain. Relative to the manner in which Twain and Johnston shared in the receipts for the evening's performance, one may quote a popular version of it as embodied in a brief literary note in the Columbus, Ohio, *Evening Dispatch*, October 8, 1898, not long after Johnston's death:

Frank L. Stanton, apropos of the death of Richard Malcolm Johnston, tells a story characteristic of Mark Twain. Mr. Johnston and Thomas Nelson Page had arranged together to give a reading in Baltimore, but at the last moment Mr. Page was unable, owing to a death in his family, to attend. Mark Twain, who was then in New York, consented to take his place on the program, desiring thus to express his appreciation of the genius of Mr. Johnston. The theater was filled and the proceeds were large. At the conclusion of the entertainment, Colonel Johnston, with his customary fairness and courtesy, tendered the bulk of the receipts to the humorist. "No," said Mark, "not one cent. It is such a great honor to know you that I am the one who owes you a debt of gratitude." "Well," said the colonel, "at least let me defray your expenses." "I have a through ticket," said Twain. "Goodby, and may God bless you!"

Reports of such a benefaction as this by Mark Twain tend easily and rapidly to become legendary and, therefore, subject to the exaggerations too often associated with legends; but, disregarding an apparent inaccuracy or two, the essence of the anecdote seems very true indeed. One who is familiar with not only this but also with other of the numerous similar benefactions by Twain from time to time during his life knows intuitively that when he consented to go to Baltimore he had no other motive than that of aid to Johnston and Page. It is even very likely, as the Stanton anecdote suggests, that he paid his own expenses; for he knew in what sore need the Johnston family was at that time.

Through this and other incidents presented here one becomes convinced that Johnston was indeed a friendly man and that he won the esteem of a wide circle of friends not only in the South but also throughout the country. While his daughters were struggling to support the family as the pinch of poverty was being felt more and more keenly, it is gratifying to record that Johnston's friends remembered him and aided him, just as he himself when he was able had generously assisted Sidney Lanier and others. Though he now had

little remaining in the way of earthly possessions, his treasury of friends was rich and bountiful.

In the preceding pages some indication has been given of these friends and of their range and number. A complete list of them, if it could now be compiled, would in itself prove a notable tribute to Johnston as a man and as a friend. They ranged from Alexander H. Stephens to Mark Twain, with many varying temperaments between. Surely it is no slight personality which could attract and hold the esteem of such divergent characters as these.

(To be continued)

THE LOG OF THE ROSSIE

A FOOTNOTE TO *Men of Marque*

By JOHN PHILIPS CRANWELL and WILLIAM BOWERS CRANE

A little less than a year ago and 'at the end of nearly four years' work we put into place a final period, tied up a bulky manuscript, and sent it off to the publishing house of W. W. Norton Company in New York. We had completed, to the best of our ability, a study¹ of Baltimore privateers during the War of 1812. We had dug through many dusty papers and documents in this country and England, and had, we hoped, succeeded in locating most of the important contemporary records which dealt with the subject.

But one of the most dangerous beliefs that can come to an historian is that he has said the last word on any subject or has unearthed all of the material which bears on his field, however limited that field may be. The mere hint that "this is the last word" acts as a challenge to readers to go forth and find something later. We did not believe that we had seen everything ever recorded about the activities of Baltimore privateers and their commanders; but we hoped we had pierced the veil of the past with reasonable thoroughness. Nevertheless, in the back of our minds was the old saying that "into each life a little rain must fall" and we were, therefore, not surprised although a little disappointed when we were caught out in a shower, although it was but a small one.

Shortly after the manuscript had gone to press, Mr. Hulbert Footner, author of many works and whose *Charles' Gift* was one of the literary events of 1939, acted the part of rainmaker. At that time Mr. Footner was engaged in writing the life of Joshua Barney² and during his research had found a part of the log kept by Barney when that stormy petrel of early American sea history commanded the Baltimore privateer schooner, *Rossie*. Mr. Footner had caught the authors of "*Men of Marque*"—in which is included an account of the *Rossie's* cruise—out without their rubbers. The log extract has been preserved in the files of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia and was available to anyone who asked for it. We ordered copies made, and awaited their arrival with considerable trepidation, for although we had read several books and gone through many old documents in compiling our account of the *Rossie's*

¹ It was published last March under the title of *Men of Marque*.

² To be published this fall by Harper's.

cruise, which ran from July 14 to October 22, 1812, and believed that we had covered this episode accurately and comprehensively, there was always the chance that we had omitted something vital which would be revealed by a study of the vessel's log. It was, therefore, with relief that we read the log extract and discovered that its contents would not have materially altered the chapter about Commodore Barney.

Direct accounts of the principals in any such activity as privateering are always apt to be more interesting and are usually more accurate than contemporary reports of other people; and even though we have already used most of the information contained in the log extract, a brief account of its contents may be of interest. The extract covers the period from September 16, 1812, to the end of the *Rossie's* cruise and opens with the action between the Post Office Packet, *Princess Amelia*, and Barney's vessel, a battle which the *Rossie* won after a bloody engagement of about an hour. Post Office Packets were formidable opponents, as many privateersmen found out to their sorrow. They were well armed and manned by competent crews who defended themselves with skill and bravery. The *Princess Amelia* was no exception and the fight with the *Rossie* had been fierce, as privateer battles went, and resulted in considerable damage to both vessels. Barney wrote:

. . . the ship and her boats were cut to pieces all her rigging gone and sails torn from the yards, the fore yard cut in two we sent a number of our officers and men to refit it and sent the prisoners on bd. having obtained information that they had left that morning a sloop of war brig^a & a 16 gun schooner, with 3 armed ships & an armed brig which were then astern standing the same course she came I ordered my officer on bd. the Ship to get the prize before the wind & to steer N. W. so as to be out of sight of the above named squadron before daylight.

The American commander decided to send the prize in and

put Mr. Jenkins and 6 men on bd. leaving her Doctor and wounded under his charge with a Gentleman and his Lady & serv't who were passengers—we were all morning fitting and repairing our own damage, fine weather, the prize left us to the westwd. at 10 A. M.

The list of injured includes "J. Daugherty blown up by Powder." Barney held after the convoy although his information was that one merchant ship carried twenty-two guns, another eighteen, the third ship sixteen and the brig twelve, a formidable battery even though the vessels carried crews too small to work their armament efficiently.

^a At that time the term "sloop" was used in naval circles to denote a class of war vessel, without reference to her rig. In this connection it is interesting to note that the British still hold on to the usage, even in these days of power-driven craft.

Also, the men-of-war were presumably heavily armed and properly manned for fighting.

At three o'clock on the afternoon of September eighteenth, the *Rossie's* lookout spotted four sail and the next morning, still in pursuit, Barney made out three ships and a brig. He surmised that these were the merchantmen mentioned by his prisoners and that the ships-of-war and the trading schooner had become separated.

The privateer closed to within ten miles during the day but could get no closer before dark. At five the next morning the four vessels were on the starboard beam of the *Rossie* and two and one-half hours later the American was within gunshot of the chase. These were drawn up in line with the English ensign and signal flags flying. A keen-sighted gunner on the leading and largest ship let fly with an eighteen-pound shot. It crashed into the *Rossie's* starboard quarter, wrecked the pump on that side and wounded a seaman.

Barney replied with several four-pound shot and hoisted his colors. The *Rossie*, long, low and swifter than the heavier British craft, swept past the convoy, drawing the fire of two other ships, the shot all missing. Then Barney, apparently deciding that discretion was the better part of valor at the moment, concluded that he might as well make an effort to rid himself of the prisoners taken from the *Princess Amelia*. He hove the privateer to, hoisted a white flag and sent his boat to the leading enemy ship with a note addressed to the "Commodore of the British Ships Now In Sight." This read:

Sir,

I have the mate & 20 men of the *Princess Amelia* Packet prisoners, which I am willing to put on board your Ship. I have sent the mate and 2 men with my boat & wish you to send 2 Boats with 2 Men in each to receive the Prisoners & also to return my boat during this Negociation you will please to lay too as I shall & to keep a white flag flying—no act of hostility will be attempted this day (in order to give time for the exchange) & which I expect will be complied with on your part. Directed to the Comr of the British Ships now in Sight.

The British complied. They sent a boat and a tender in charge of the mate of the *Princess Amelia*, and a reply to Barney's letter. It said:

Sir,

Agreeable to your request I have sent the boats for the prisoners. I shall lay to for their return. No act of hostility will be attempted on my part during the negociation or as long as the white flag is kept flying.

yr. ob. servt

John Lannon

Ship Hibernia

Barney sent his prisoners over after making them promise not to serve against the United States until regularly exchanged. He kept his white flag flying until the transfer was completed and again began dogging the squadron with hostile intent, apparently hoping that one of the vessels might become separated and give him a chance to capture it. During the next few days the *Rossie* was joined by the privateer *Globe*, out of Baltimore, under the command of John Murphy. Barney and Murphy joined forces but were not successful in the pursuit.

This incident of the *Hibernia* and the mid-ocean exchange of letters and transfer of prisoners is the only important bit of information in the log which we did not discover in our research. We found the reference to the pursuit of the four vessels and the shot that disabled that important part of the *Rossie's* equipment, the starboard pump; we came across the next incident mentioned in the log—the imprisonment of John Marr, the gunner who, according to the log—

was acting the part of a Traitor having contrary to orders, put only one half the quantity of Powder in my guns, during the two engagements we had by which means we had done very little damage ordered him to Irons to be tried in the U. S.

This we used, along with the fact not noted in the log, that Marr was acquitted, a bit of information which we found in the court martial records of the United States Navy Department in Washington.

The bit about the *Hibernia*, shows one aspect of the methods of privateering warfare. One can commend Barney's judgment. It was Captain Lannon who, in the same ship, fought Thomas Boyle and his privateer *Comet* (one of the two finest privateering combinations out of Baltimore; Boyle with the *Chasseur* was the other) to a standstill on the night of January 11, 1813. The *Hibernia* had the *Comet* and her highly disciplined crew in difficulties more than once on that occasion, when Boyle fought one of his few losing battles, being forced to withdraw to refit. With three other ships joining in, it is quite likely that, had Barney forced the fight with the *Hibernia*, the cruise of the *Rossie* would have been concluded bloodily and abruptly.

The *Rossie* and the *Globe* continued to cruise in company and on September 27 they ran into a series of heavy gales which severely damaged the former. So badly was she knocked about that upon her return to port she was found to be unfit for further privateering. The schooner was, in point of fact, the oldest of her type to enter

that venturesome and wearing trade, having been built in Baltimore in 1807 and, although all seagoing craft of that day carried a few guns for defense, it is unlikely that her builders planned her for privateering or made allowances for the heavier armament needed in that business. When, on September 28 a sea came aboard the *Rossie* and

stove in our larboard waists from the fore to the main chains, broke off the stanchions of three ports and split up the sheer plank, stove in a part of the quick work and opened the upper works

Barney was forced to heave overboard six of his guns, three from each side. It marked the beginning of the end for the *Rossie* as a privateer.

Barney, however, continued his cruise in what he terms "most astonishing weather." For a solid week the *Rossie* and the *Globe*, which managed to stay in company, were buffeted and hammered by gale after gale. Unable to maneuver the ship properly because of the damage to the port side (and unable to repair that because of the weather) Barney and his men were in intense physical discomfort and real danger. They finally managed to make temporary repairs and, when the storms finally blew themselves out the crew was employed "drying sails, cleaning arms and fitting wooden guns (bad substitute)." Barney intended to exchange them for real ones so soon as he should fall in with an Englishman but he never did. The *Globe* finally took a small schooner, the *Jubilee*. Barney relieved Murphy of the prisoners and headed for home. The *Rossie* was subsequently captured while employed as a cargo carrier under another captain.

In closing, some mention might be made of the general make-up of the logs of the day. Those kept by privateersmen are (and here the writers again venture out without rubbers or raincoats) few and far between. Some were obviously kept by the captains themselves, others as obviously written by the ship's scribe. All were short on punctuation and long on capital letters. Some log-keepers went in for long, explicit accounts of their cruises, with comments on everything from the state of the weather to the Kingdom of Heaven; others were as chary of words as Old Nick is reputed to be of holy water. And anyone who has one or who knows where one is, and wishes to confound the writers of this article, may send it along. We would like to see it.

EGERTON FAMILY

By FRANCIS B. CULVER

1. CHARLES¹ EGERTON, whose will was dated 27 Jan. 1669 and proved 15 June 1669 in Lower Norfolk County (now recorded at Portsmouth), Virginia, was, according to tradition, the father of Charles Egerton, founder of the Egerton family of Maryland (*Virginia Magazine*, XXXI, 348). The senior Egerton is mentioned in the Virginia records as follows:

1662 June 14—Inventory of the estate of Captain Francis Emperor, taken this date, lists among certain "bills" the name of "Charles Egerton, 340 pounds of tobacco" (*Lower Norfolk Antiquary*, IV, 84).

1664 June 14—"Charles Egerton, 200 acres in Lynnhaven Parish in the Lower County of New Norfolk: 150 acres at a small creek on the west side of John Holmes' house, running up the creek south-southwest, etc.; 50 acres being three small hummocks joined together by small ostums [?] upon Hog Island in little creek in Lynnhaven. Granted to Samuel Mayson 18th Feb. 1653, by him sold to Thomas Bridge who sold to Egerton. (*Cavaliers and Pioneers*, by Nell Marian Nugent, I, 518).

1667 Nov. 20—"Charles Egerton in the County of Lower Norfolk in Virginia . . . give . . . unto Anne Bennett's two sons, George and Edward, my plantation which I live upon . . . cows between the boys and their sister Elizabeth . . . so that their mother, when she cometh into the County again, may . . . have a living out of the land and stock . . . if Thomas Bennett will come out of the Bay and live with them, he may. I will not hinder nor molest him." (Norfolk County Clerk's Office, Book E, 32; *Virginia Magazine*, XXXI, 347.)

NOTE: Mrs. Ann Bennett was a daughter of Henry Snaile. She married Thomas Bennett of Lower Norfolk County, Va., and St. Mary's County, Md. Her daughter Mary Bennett married (1) Thomas Ewell, (2) Maximilian Boush, (3) Rev. Jonathan Saunders (died *ante* 1700), rector of Lynn Haven Parish in 1695, whose daughter Mary Saunders (died 1762) married in 1719 Cornelius Calvert.

1669 April 27—The will of Charles Egerton, proved 15 June 1669, mentions Anne Snayle "which now goeth by the name Anne Bennett, to her four children, that is to say: George,

Edward, Elizabeth and Mary—my lands when they come of age" (Norfolk County, Va., Clerk's Office, Book E, 51; *Virginia Magazine*, XXXI, 347). The Inventory of Estate, 11 May 1670, includes one Bible valued at 30 lbs tobacco, five printed books (at 10 lbs. each) valued at 50 lbs. tobacco (*Lower Norfolk County Antiquary*, I, 106).

POST MORTEM NOTE: 1688—Whereas one Charles Egerton, Desc., Late of this County . . . gave and bequeathed unto the foure children of Anne Benitt: George, Edward, Elizabeth and Mary or to such of them as shall live to come to age, all his Land to bee equally Divided . . . and whereas George and Edward . . . died in their Minority, Soe that Elizabeth and Mary beinge the onely Surviving Children of the said Anne Benett and being of Competent and Lawful age and being both married, Elizabeth the Elder to Henry Collins and Mary the younger to Thomas Ewell, Doe . . . make . . . Division and Partition . . . Sixty acres . . . old Fields and Seared ground . . . portion of Elizabeth . . . all woodlands . . . remaining part . . . one hundred and four acres is the Shair part and proportion of Mary the younger Daughter now wife of Thomas Ewell . . . ye forth yeare of the Reigne of our Sovereign Lord King James ye Second . . ."

Signed: Henry Collins (seal), Elizabeth Collins (seal), Thomas Ewell (seal), Mary Ewell (seal). (Norfolk Co., Lib. 5, fol. 74.)

2. CHARLES² EGERTON, of Lower Norfolk County, Virginia and of St. Mary's County Maryland, died in St. Mary's County in 1699.

1675 June 16—Charles Egerton was on a jury to inquire into an accusation of witchcraft against one Joan Jenkins (*Lower Norfolk Co., Va., Antiquary*, VII, 50).

1683 Feb. 1—Deed to Charles Egerton of Lower Norfolk County, Va., from William Thomas and Susan his wife, of Lankford Bay, Kent County, Md., for 19,000 pounds of tobacco in cask, "all that plantation and tract of land called Punckney Marsh, in St. Michael's Hundred in St. Mary's County, between the land of Richard Atwood and Hugh Manning, 200 acres." (Signed) William Thomas, and witnessed by George Parker and Robert Carville. Acknowledged, 2 Dec. 1684 (Provincial Court Records, Annapolis, Liber W. R. C. no. 1, folios 312 *et seq.*).

1685 Oct. 3—At a Court held at St. Mary's City, Randolph Brandt, *Charles Egerton* and ten others were on the jury in the case of one Rebecca Fowler of Calvert County, Md., accused of witchcraft (Judgment Records of Provincial Court of Maryland, Liber T. G. (2) 1682-1702; *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXI, 283, 284).

1687—"One Raymond, a Papist priest, did publicly in Court declare that he intended the house of *Mr. Charles Egerton*, the house of Captain Robert Jordan and the house of Henry Usdick to meet at, there celebrate the Mass and other rites of their church" (*William and Mary Quarterly*, I^o, I, 47).

1689 Jan. 14—Deed from Charles Calvert of St. Mary's County, gent., son and heir of William Calvert, Esq., deceased, to Charles Egerton of St. Mary's County, Merchant, conveys for the sum of 30000 lbs. of tobacco 2400 acres of land. "Whereas, Ye Rt. Hon. Cecilius Calvert, late Lord Proprietary, etc., of Maryland, by Letters Patent dated 11 Feb. 1662, did grant unto the said William Calvert, deceased, a tract of land on the east side of Piscataway River and on the south side of Piscataway Creek, beginning at a marked oak ye bound tree of Randolph Henson [Hanson?] and running [etc.], then laid out for 3000 acres; and, Whereas further, ye said William Calvert upon marriage of his daughter Elizabeth with James Neale of Charles County, gent., did give unto the said James Neale and his wife, or one of them, 600 acres part of the aforesaid 3000 acres, which 3000 acres are situated in Charles County and are a part of ye land that was reserved for ye Indians in 1668" . . . (Annapolis, Land Records, Charles County Deed Book (abstract), Lib. R. No. 1, 1690-92, fol. 134).

NOTE: "Piscataway" was patented to the Hon. William Calvert, given to his daughter Elizabeth and her husband James Neale who, in turn, gave it (or possibly part of it) to their daughter Mary the wife of Charles^s Egerton, which said Mary after Egerton's death married Jeremiah Adderton. Mary and Charles^s Egerton sold it on 15 Jan. 1703 to James Heath and his heirs (Annapolis, Liber P. C., folio 659).

1694 Dec. 12—Charles Egerton filed in Lower Norfolk County Court House a Power of Attorney for his son Arthur, wherein the former and his wife Anne referred to themselves as formerly of Elizabeth River, Virginia, late of St. Mary's County, Maryland.

1699—. The will of Charles Egerton, of St. Mary's County, dated Mch. 11 and proved April 11, 1699, devised to his wife Anne, for life, "Pountney's Marsh," elsewhere written "Punckney Marsh," and named her executrix and residuary legatee of his personal estate. He devised to his son George the plantation aforesaid, after his wife's death and also a right in land bought from Charles Calvert which was purchased from Robert Large;

To his son Charles, land on Potomac River, called "Piney Neck"; * To his other four sons John, Thomas, Randolph and James Egerton jointly, 2400 acres in the freshes of Potomac River, on the north side of the river, generally called "Piscataway," they to make an equal division of the said 2400 acres into four parts. "As for what other lands I have within the capes in Virginia or Maryland, the same to be sold and disposed of by my executors." To his daughter Mary, he bequeathed 20000 lbs. of tobacco, "provided my executors like her marriage choice; otherwise, one shilling." None of his sons was to leave their mother until 25 years of age. To the Rev. Father John Hall, 1000 lbs. of tobacco more, on the anniversary of the testator's death. The guardians for his minor children were appointed: namely, Mr. John Hall, Mr. Thomas Groning, Mr. John Sermot and Mr. William Herbert. The executors named, were his sons Charles and John Egerton (St. Mary's County Wills, Liber P. C. no. 1, folios 123 *et seq.*; *Maryland Calendar of Wills*, II, 174).

The Rent Rolls of Prince George County (1696-1723) show that "Piscataway" was in the possession of "Richard Calvert, John Egerton, Thomas Egerton, Randall Egerton and — Egerton, each 600 acres."

Charles² Egerton married Anne Porter, widow of John Godfrey. After Egerton's death, she became the wife of — Boucher and died in 1712. The will of Anne Boucher of St. Michael's Hundred, St. Mary's County, Md., dated Jan. 20 and proved Feb. 7, 1712, bequeathed personal property to her sons Thomas, Randolph, James and George Egerton (executor and residuary legatee) and her daughter Mary Underwood (*Maryland Calendar of Wills*, III, 236). The surviving children of Charles and Anne Egerton were as follows:

3. I. CHARLES³ EGERTON, oldest son, died *circa* 1705 (of whom presently).
 - II. John³ Egerton
 - III. George³ Egerton
 - IV. Thomas³ Egerton
 - V. Randolph³ Egerton
 - VI. James³ Egerton
 - VII. Mary³ Egerton, married — Underwood.
- { In 1699, Charles³ Egerton devised to his sons John, Thomas, Randolph and James, 2400 acres of the Piscataway Tract. On 10 Nov. 1715, Thomas, Randolph and James Egerton of St. Mary's County, conveyed to Thomas Edelen of Prince George's County, Md., the said 2400 acres. On 31 July 1717, "James Egerton of the Province of Maryland, married Miriam Tatum, maiden of Norfolk County, Va., daughter of Elizabeth Tatum." The marriage bond was witnessed by Rand. Egerton and Moses Kidwood (*Lower Norfolk County Antiquary*, III, 41).

* "Piney Neck" seems to be a geographical place-name and not a patented tract name (see Thomas' *Chronicles of Colonial Maryland*, p. 349).

3. CHARLES³ EGERTON, eldest son of Charles² Egerton, was born before 1677 and died *circa* 1705 at "Piney Neck" in St. Mary's County, Maryland. In 1702, he married Mary Neale, born in 1682, daughter of Capt. James Neale (1650/5-1727) who married in 1681 Elizabeth Calvert (died 1684), daughter of Hon. (Col.) William Calvert (1643-1683) by his wife Elizabeth Stone. The last named was the daughter of Gov. William Stone (1604-1660) and his wife Verlinda Cotton? (died 1675).

In 1702, James Neale of Wollaston Manor, Charles County, Maryland (son of James and Anne (Gill) Neale), born about 1650 in Europe, conveyed to Mary his daughter by his first wife (Elizabeth Calvert) all the lands received with Elizabeth Calvert as her marriage portion, showing that Mary was her mother's only child. On 10 April 1702, James Neale of Charles County, Md., gent., and Elizabeth his wife conveyed to Charles Egerton, gent. of St. Mary's County, "who hath lately married Mary, daughter of the said James Neale," 600 acres part of a tract of 3000 acres, formerly in Charles County, but now in Prince George's County, Md., patented to William Calvert, Esq., and the aforesaid 600 acres thereof given in marriage with his daughter Elizabeth (Calvert) to the said James Neale (Pr. Geo. Co., Liber A, 449).

Charles Egerton died intestate. On 5 Mch. 1705, the Administration Bond on the estate of Charles Egerton, late of St. Mary's County, deceased, was given by his widow Mary Egerton, as administratrix. James Neale of Charles County and Charles Beckwith of St. Mary's County were her sureties in the sum of £400 sterling (Annapolis, Test. Proc., Lib. 19-c, 40).

Mrs. Mary (Neale) Egerton married (2) Jeremiah Adderton (died 1713); (3) Joseph Van Sweringen (died 1721) and (4) William Deacon. On 17 May 1708 was filed the account of Jeremiah Adderton (d. 1713) and Mary his wife, adm'x of Charles Egerton of St. Mary's County (Annapolis, Inv. and Accts., Liber 28, fol. 221); and on 30 Dec. 1710 a further Account was filed by the same couple (*ibid.*, Lib. 32-B, fol. 11).

Between 1713 and 9 Sept. 1715, the widow married her third husband, Joseph Van Sweringen (d. 1721), and about 1722/23 she married her fourth, William Deacon. On 8 Mch. 1721, as Mary Van Sweringen of St. Mary's County, widow, she deposed her age as 39 years.

By her first husband, Charles Egerton, Mary Neale had issue as follows:

4. I. JAMES⁴ EGERTON, born *circa* 1703; died 1768 (of whom presently).
- II. Charles⁴ Egerton, died *circa* 1738.

4. JAMES⁴ EGERTON was born *circa* 1703 and died in 1768, in St. Mary's County, Maryland. The will of James Egerton of St. Mary's County was dated 16 Jan. 1765 and proved 26 July 1768 (St. Mary's County Will Book T. A. no. 1, folio 559; Annapolis, W. B. 36, 531). He bequeathed to his son, Charles Calvert⁵ Egerton, three negro slaves together with the three negroes mentioned in a deed of gift to the said son, "when he arrives at 18 years of age." Also, to his said son Charles Calvert⁵ Egerton he devised his dwelling plantation at "Piney Neck," formerly the property of Charles³ Egerton (died 1699) who devised it to his eldest son Charles³ Egerton. The latter died in 1705, intestate, and the estate was inherited by his eldest son James, mentioned above. In addition to the "Piney Neck" estate, which James's will stipulated should not be disposed of until his son arrived at 21 years of age, Charles Calvert Egerton was devised one other tract called "Bluestone Neck," and was made residuary legatee. The will also mentions: "My grandson Michael Jenifer, son of Michael Jenifer and Mary Ann his wife; my grandson Parker Jenifer and my granddaughter Dorkey Jenifer; to my son-in-law Michael Jenifer, a young cow and calf, in full of his deceased wife Mary Ann's part of my estate."

The testator's friend, Richard Swan Edwards, was to have the care of Charles Calvert Egerton's estate until the latter attained the age of 18 years, but Edwards refused to serve. The will was witnessed by John Tennison, Samuel Cottrell and Charles Loe (Lowe?). No wife is mentioned in the will.

James⁴ Egerton had issue as follows:

5. I. CHARLES CALVERT⁵ EGERTON, born *circa* 1748; died 1778 (of whom presently):
- II. Mary Ann Egerton, died *ante* 1765; married Michael Jenifer.
5. CHARLES CALVERT⁵ EGERTON was born *circa* 1748 and died in 1778 in St. Mary's County, Maryland. The will of Charles Calvert Egerton of St. Mary's County was dated 19 Sept. 1777 and proved 5 May 1778 (St. Mary's County Will Book, J. J. no. 1, folios 58 *et seq.*).

The testator named his wife Mary as his executrix and gave her his lands during her widowhood. He mentioned his five children in order as follows: James (eldest), Calvert, Ann. Sarah, and Bennett Egerton. The will was witnessed by Bennett Biscoe, Solomon Jones and James Biscoe.

Charles Calvert Egerton married (Mary Bennett?) and had issue as follows:

6. I. JAMES^a EGERTON, born *circa* 1770 (of whom presently).
 II. Calvert^a Egerton, died 14 May 1833 aged 59 years, *sine prole*.
 III. Ann^a Egerton.
 IV. Sarah^a Egerton.
7. V. BENNETT^a EGERTON (of whom presently).
6. JAMES^a EGERTON (*Charles Calvert^a*, etc.), of Chaptico, St. Mary's County, Maryland, was born about 1770. In 1799, he purchased from Henry Neale 250 acres of "Bashford Manor." On 17 Feb. 1807 a deed from James Eden of St. Mary's to James Egerton, for the sum of \$2300.00 current money, conveys 277 acres, part of "Bashford Manor," lying on Chaptico Bay between the lands of said James Egerton and Edward and John Maddox, known commonly as the "Indian Fields."

James Egerton married (1) 1792 Matilda Bond of Benedict, St. Mary's County, Maryland (daughter of "Col. Richard Bond and Susanna Key") and had issue as follows:

- I. Susanna Key^r Egerton, born 1794; married (1) 14 Feb. 1811 Edward Wilder (1770-1828), of Charles County, Md., and had issue; married (2) ——— Kent. She removed from Maryland to Kentucky about 1830.
8. II. CHARLES CALVERT^r EGERTON, born 26 Feb. 1797; died 27 May 1862 (of whom presently).
- III. Richard^r Egerton, born 1798.

James Egerton married (2) in 1805 Eliza Chesley and had issue as follows:

9. IV. ROBERT CHESLEY^r EGERTON (of whom presently).
 V. Elizabeth^r Egerton, married Thomas Swann of Louisville, Ky.
7. BENNETT^a EGERTON (*Charles Calvert^a*, etc.) Married (1) Ada DuBois and had issue as follows
 10. I. JOHN B.^r EGERTON (of whom presently).
 11. II. CHARLES CALVERT^r EGERTON (of whom presently).
 12. III. DUBOIS^r EGERTON (of whom presently).
8. CHARLES CALVERT^r EGERTON (*James^a, Charles Calvert^a*, etc.) was born 26 Feb. 1797 in St. Mary's County, Maryland and died 27 May 1862 in Baltimore, Md. He is buried in Green Mount Cemetery, as likewise is his second wife, Rebecca Callis, born 3 Dec. 1803, died 7 April 1888, sister of his first wife.

Charles Calvert Egerton married (1) Susan Callis (1801-1822) and had issue as follows:

- I. James Henry^a Egerton, married ——— Wolff and had issue, one son.
- II. Rebecca Ann^a Egerton, married (1) William Lawrence. Issue: William, Rev. Edward, Willard and Ida Lawrence.

Charles Calvert Egerton married (2) Rebecca Callis (1803-1888) and had issue as follows:

13. III. PHILIP ALEXANDER⁸ EGERTON (of whom presently).
 - IV. Mary Annette⁸ Egerton, married Wesley Wilson, son of John Fletcher Wilson of Portland Manor, Anne Arundel County, Md., and had issue: Lelia, died aged five years.
 - V. Rosetta⁸ Egerton, married William P. Whiting of Hampton, Va., and had issue: William Kennon, married Kate Viers; Florence Beverly, married Wills Lee of Hampton, Va.; Wesley Wilson, d. unm.; Mary Mallory, married Fred. Webster; Rosetta, married Samuel Parran.
 14. VI. CHARLES CALVERT⁸ EGERTON (of whom presently).
 - VII. Clara⁸ Egerton, married Robert Dibley of N. Y. Issue: Eliza, Julia, Clara, Isabel, Robert.
 - VIII. Julia⁸ Egerton, married Robert D. Semmes. Issue: Clara, married John D. Bird.
 15. IX. WILLIAM A.⁸ EGERTON (of whom presently).
 - X. Eleanora B.⁸ Egerton, died unmarried.
 16. XI. SAMUEL EDWIN⁸ EGERTON, born 18 Nov. 1839; died 17 Aug. 1895 (of whom presently).
 - XII. Virginia⁸ Egerton, died in infancy.
9. ROBERT CHESLEY⁷ EGERTON (*James⁸, Charles Calvert⁸, etc.*), of Petersburg, Va., died 1852; married 1830 Clarinda Smith (died 1869) and had issue as follows:

- I. Laura⁸ Egerton, born 1831; died in infancy.
- II. Robert Laurence⁸ Egerton, born in 1833; married in 1880 Jennie Buckler of Louisville, Ky.
- III. Janet Smith⁸ Egerton, born in 1835.
- IV. May Elizabeth⁸ Egerton, born in 1838; died in 1859.
- V. William Bridgewater⁸ Egerton, born in 1840.
- VI. Susan Melville⁸ Egerton, born in 1842; married (1) in 1861 Capt. Robert Freeman, (2) Dr. D. W. Hand of St. Paul, Minn.
- VII. Louisa Clarinda⁸ Egerton, born in 1845; married in 1869 Wm. Evelyn Cameron of Petersburg, Va., who later became Governor of Virginia.
- VIII. James Chesley⁸ Egerton, born in 1847; married in 1869 Virginia Ann Lefler and removed to Minneapolis. Issue: Walter Chesley Egerton and Maude Cameron Egerton.
- IX. Robert Oscar⁸ Egerton, born in 1851; married Bessie Stuart Hall of Petersburg, Va.

10. JOHN B.⁷ EGERTON (*Bennett⁸, Charles Calvert⁸, etc.*) married twice. He married (1) ——— Higgenbotham, who died *sine prole*. He married (2) ——— Fowler, and had issue as follows:

- I. John B.⁸ Egerton.
- II. Maud⁸ Egerton.
- III. a daughter.
- IV. a daughter.
- V. a daughter.

11. CHARLES CALVERT⁷ EGERTON (*Bennett⁸, Charles Calvert⁸, etc.*) was born in 1816 and died in 1893. He was in command of Maryland Troops at Harper's Ferry at the time of John Brown's raid, 16 Oct. 1859. Gen. Charles C. Egerton commanded the Second Light Brigade, from Baltimore, in the M. V. I. He

married Elizabeth Hall of Howard County, Md., and had issue as follows:

- I. Minnie⁸ Egerton, married J. T. Ringgold.
- II. Mary⁸ Egerton, married M. E. Reid.
- III. Sophia⁸ Egerton.
- IV. Virginia⁸ Egerton.

12. DuBOIS⁷ EGERTON (*Bennett⁶, Charles Calvert⁵, etc.*) married Ada McCrea and had issue as follows:

- I. John B.⁸ Egerton, removed to Long Island, N. Y.
- II. Mary DuBois⁸ Egerton, married Professor Thayer of Boston.

13. PHILIP ALEXANDER⁸ EGERTON (*Charles Calvert⁷, James⁶, Charles Calvert⁵, etc.*), married Margaret Schley Saunderson. Removed to New York City. Issue as follows:

- I. Edgar⁹ Egerton.
- II. Ella⁹ Egerton.
- III. Henry⁹ Egerton.
- IV. Frank⁹ Egerton.
- V. Minnie⁹ Egerton.

14. CHARLES CALVERT⁸ EGERTON (*Charles Calvert⁷, James⁶, Charles Calvert⁵, etc.*), married Virginia Turner and had issue as follows:

- I. Charles Carroll⁹ Egerton.
- II. Emma⁹ Egerton.
- III. Lulie⁹ Egerton.
- IV. Virginia⁹ Egerton.
- V. Maud⁹ Egerton.

15. WILLIAM A.⁸ EGERTON (*Charles Calvert⁷, James⁶, Charles Calvert⁵, etc.*), married Ellen Wilson of New York and had issue as follows:

- I. Bayard⁹ Egerton, married Mamie Sauerberg.
- II. Nellie⁹ Egerton, married (1) Richard Lee Fearn; (2) Admiral Plunkett, U. S. N.
- III. Bessie⁹ Egerton, married Fred. Hutchinson.

16. SAMUEL EDWIN⁸ EGERTON (*Charles Calvert⁷, James⁶, Charles Calvert⁵, etc.*) was born 18 Nov. 1839 at Chaptico, Md., and died 17 Aug. 1895 at Baltimore, to which city he removed at the age of 18 years. His wife, Elizabeth Duvall Wilson, was born on 18 Aug. 1849 at Wakefield, Westmoreland County, Va., spent most of her young life at Portland Manor, Anne Arundel County, Md., the home of her grandfather, and died 3 Sept. 1905 at Baltimore. Both are buried in Green Mount Cemetery.

Samuel Edwin Egerton married 20 Nov. 1866, at St. James Church, Anne Arundel County, Elizabeth Duvall Wilson and had issue as follows:

- I. Samuel E.⁹ Egerton, born 7 Dec. 1867; died in 1868. Buried in Green Mount Cemetery.
- II. John Fletcher⁹ Egerton, born 6 Jan. 1869; died 25 Feb. 1925 at Manila, P. I.; married Susan Yeatman of Norfolk, Va., *sine prole*.
17. III. STUART⁹ EGERTON, born 21 Nov. 1870 (of whom presently).
18. IV. SAMUEL EDWIN⁹ EGERTON, born 6 Aug. 1872 (of whom presently).
 - V. Kennon Whiting⁹ Egerton, born 4 April 1874; died 27 Nov. 1916; married Agnes Moore of Danville, Va., *sine prole*.
 - VI. Elizabeth Wilson⁹ Egerton, born 25 April 1876; died 21 June 1877. Buried in Green Mount Cemetery.
 - VII. Florence Beverly⁹ Egerton, born 9 Jan. 1878; married Brig. Gen. Walter Driscoll Smith, U. S. A. Issue.
 - VIII. Martha Rankin⁹ Egerton, born 9 Jan. 1880; married Admiral Ernest J. King, U. S. N., born 23 Nov. 1878 at Lorain, Ohio.
 - IX. Helen Duvall⁹ Egerton, born 15 Jan. 1881; died 12 Dec. 1881. Buried in Green Mount Cemetery.
 - X. Ethel Wilson⁹ Egerton, born 30 Aug. 1882; died 26 Nov. 1884. Buried in Green Mount Cemetery.
17. STUART⁹ EGERTON (*Samuel Edwin⁹, Charles Calvert⁷, James⁶, Charles Calvert⁵, etc.*) was born 21 Nov. 1870, at Baltimore, Maryland. Stuart Egerton married 21 Oct. 1896 Martha M. White, born 4 Sept. 1873, daughter of Gen. James McKenny White (1842-1925) and had issue as follows:
 19. I. STUART WILSON¹⁰ EGERTON, born 15 Aug. 1897 (of whom presently).
 20. II. JAMES MCKENNY WHITE¹⁰ EGERTON, born 12 July 1905 (of whom presently).
18. SAMUEL EDWIN⁹ EGERTON (*Samuel Edwin⁹, Charles Calvert⁷, James⁶, Charles Calvert⁵, etc.*) was born 6 Aug. 1872, at Baltimore, Maryland.

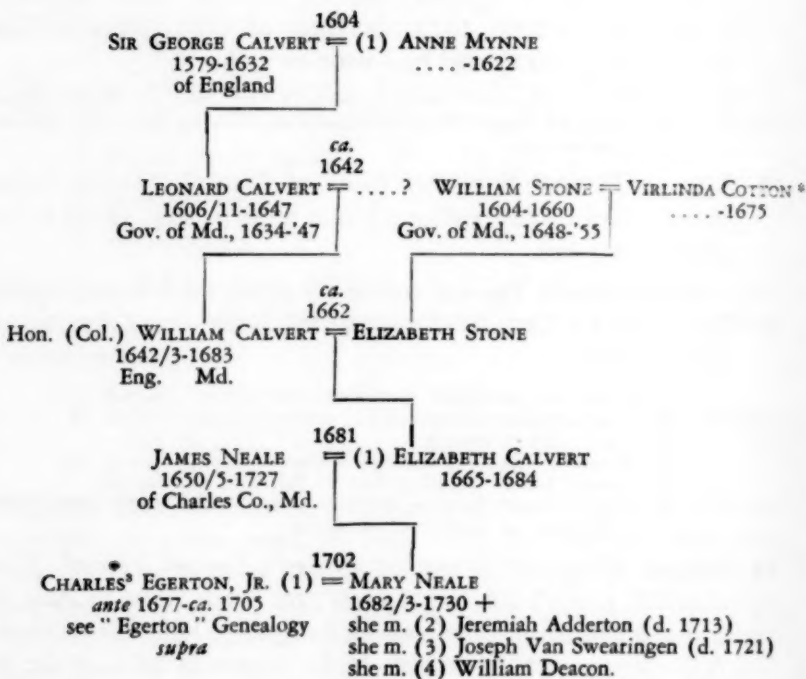
Samuel Edwin Egerton married 7 April 1896 Bessie Appleton Tyler (died 1 Dec. 1937), daughter of George Tyler, and had issue as follows:

- I. a son, died in infancy.
- II. a son, died in infancy.
- III. a son, died in infancy.
- IV. Elizabeth¹⁰ Egerton, married William Conklin.
- V. Samuel James¹⁰ Egerton, died 10 July 1936, unmarried.
- VI. John Wilson¹⁰ Egerton, married 13 April 1936 Martha Jane Broderick, daughter of Bartlett C. Broderick.
19. STUART WILSON¹⁰ EGERTON (*Stuart⁹, Samuel Edwin⁹, Charles Calvert⁷, James⁶, Charles Calvert⁵, etc.*) was born 15 Aug. 1897 and is a practising physician of Baltimore, Md. He received his A. B. degree in 1918 and his M. D. degree in 1923, at the Johns Hopkins University. He was Lieutenant in the 67th Field Artillery in 1918. He married 25 Sept. 1923 Katherine Bailey Lalor, born 3 Dec. 1901, dau. of Wm. B. Lalor of Phila., Pa., and had issue as follows:
 - I. Katherine Bailey¹¹ Egerton, born 12 Sept. 1925.
 - II. Martha Stuart¹¹ Egerton, born 23 June 1927.

20. JAMES MCKENNY WHITE¹⁰ EGERTON (*Stuart⁹, Samuel Edwin⁸, Charles Calvert⁷, James⁶, Charles Calvert⁵, etc.*) was born 12 July 1905 and is a practising attorney-at-law of Baltimore, Md. He received his A. B. degree at Princeton University in 1927 and was graduated from the Harvard Law School in 1930. He married 5 May 1931 Carolyn Howell Griswold, born 5 Dec. 1908, dau. of Benjamin Howell Griswold, Jr., and grand dau. of Alexander Brown of Baltimore, and had issue as follows:

- I. McKenny White¹¹ Egerton, Jr., born 28 March 1932.
 II. Benjamin Griswold¹¹ Egerton, born 23 Jan. 1935.
 III. Stuart¹¹ Egerton, 3rd, born 23 Aug. 1938.

EGERTON—CALVERT



* Verlinda Cotton is usually given as the maiden name of the wife of Gov. William Stone of Maryland. Mr. J. B. Calvert Nicklin, however, believes that he has evidence to prove that she was Verlinda Graves, a daughter of Capt. Thomas Graves of Virginia, and a sister to Ann the wife of Rev. William Cotton and to the wife of Capt. William Roper. Cotton (d. 1646) in his will called Stone and Roper his brothers-in-law.

BOOK REVIEWS

Sailor of Fortune, the Life and Adventures of Commodore Barney, U. S. N.

By HULBERT FOOTNER. New York, Harper [1940]. 323 pp. \$3.50.

On July 6, 1759, a child was born to the wife of William Barney, a fairly well-to-do individual living near the village of Baltimore. It is unlikely that the infant's arrival was greeted with any great celebration by his parents, for he was one of fourteen. His father named him Joshua and let it go at that. What he could not know was that he was christening a man-child who was to grow up to be one of the outstanding figures of the nation yet to be born.

History has not been kind to Joshua Barney, although he was one of the important characters of the War of the Revolution and the subsequent unpleasantness between the United States and Great Britain in the 1812-15 period. Aside from historians and some native Marylanders it is unlikely that many residents of the United States of 1940 even so much as know the name. This is not entirely strange; Barney was never called upon to save the nation, although he was constantly requested to serve it. A man of unquestioned ability as a seaman and a fighter, his life was one of constant turmoil, both at sea and on land, and, while he usually defeated his enemies at sea, he constantly made fresh ones on land and these he was not always able to overcome.

When he died late in 1818, in Pittsburgh, far from the salt water he loved, he left an autobiography and a daughter-in-law, Mrs. Mary Barney, who was to become his first biographer. Since that work appeared, more than a century ago, Barney has been the subject of a number of shorter pieces and of another full-length biography, this by Ralph D. Paine. Mary Barney's book is, naturally, prejudiced and the Paine work cannot be wholeheartedly recommended. Mr. Footner, who is best known for his detective novels but whose book, *Charles' Gift*, a history of his home in Southern Maryland, received great commendation when it appeared last year, has interested himself in Barney. *Sailor of Fortune* is the excellent result.

It is difficult for the average individual of today, especially one unacquainted with the mode of living in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to realize that, in those days comparative infants of ten, eleven and twelve years of age were starting on their careers. This was true, however, and especially so of boys whose lives were to be spent at sea. In 1771, when Barney was almost twelve and had already worked on shore for a year, he was permitted to enter the life he most desired—that of a seaman. He was placed aboard a Chesapeake Bay pilot boat. Less than a year later he became an apprentice on a deep-water brig and was studying navigation under a master who was "brutal to me." Through a chain of circumstances he was forced to take over the command of the brig before he was sixteen years old. The master, the "brutal" one, died while the ship was at sea and Joshua, being the only "artist" or navigator aboard, became master. Such things were unusual in those days, but not unknown. However, the difficulties which presented themselves on a voyage across the Atlantic in a leaky tub of a ship and the troubles which confronted the youngster after finally reaching port were met

in a way which indicated the mental and physical courage deep-rooted in William Barney's child.

This courage and resourcefulness Mr. Footner has developed fully, although with a touch of hero worship. Barney brought his command back into Baltimore late in 1775, to receive the hearty congratulations of the vessel's owner and the news that his country was in active rebellion against His Majesty, George III. Shortly thereafter the youth was able to obtain a commission as second lieutenant aboard one of the smaller of the few ships fondly called a navy by the Continental Congress. From that time on Barney was never at a loss while he was on the deck of a ship while, on the other hand, he frequently lost and lost heavily when transacting business ashore. It is true that he was captured several times by British vessels, finally landing in that British hell-hole, Old Mill prison. The captures were effected, however, by far superior forces; and one of the most entertaining parts of Mr. Footner's work deals with his hero's successful escape from the unpleasant and confining jailhouse.

It was after this escape that his meteoric rise began. He met Benjamin Franklin, John Adams and a number of other persons directing the destinies of his native land. He kissed the cheek of Marie Antoinette, Queen of France (Barney the seaman was also Barney the swashbuckling gentleman and the delight of the ladies) and met several other members of the ruling families of Europe. He drew words of praise from his adversaries at sea and the respectful hate afforded him by his enemies at home showed that his was a forceful character. And yet it is this character and these enemies which have probably kept him from ranking with the John Paul Jones's and the Decatur's of the nation, for Barney could never seem to find himself.

He married in 1780 and, his naval prospects appearing slim (the United States Navy had been pretty well shot to pieces by the British) he decided to settle down and carve a fortune out of life ashore. True to himself, he put all of his funds in a satchel and set out from Dover, Delaware, where he and his bride were living, to Baltimore, where the fortune was to be made. He was careless with his satchel and when he reached his destination the money had been removed. He never told Mrs. Barney of the theft; instead he found another berth aboard a ship and started after another stake.

His business ventures were usually hectic, it might be said. There was no middle ground to Barney; everything he did was on the grand scale.

While away on a venture for the firm (he never let home ties hold him when there was an opportunity to get to sea) he was offered a place with the French Navy. Marie Antoinette was gone and the Directory held sway. But Barney, seeing little opportunity in the naval prospects at home, accepted the offer and his acceptance was promptly seized upon by his enemies at home. No one has ever been able to prove that the Commodore (for such was his rank with the French) ever raised his hand against American ships, despite the fact that his country-by-adoption was virtually at war with the United States. Lack of such proof meant little, however, to politicians in Baltimore. Later he resigned his commission and returned home, to offer his services (which were promptly accepted) when the War of 1812 broke out. He did a trick at privateering in the schooner *Rossie*, but found greater fame and less commendation as commander of the gunboat squadron in the Patuxent

River and of the sailors who put up the only resistance at that fiasco of American arms, Bladensburg. After the war, worn out by the hardships of his life and suffering from the wound he had received at Bladensburg, Barney decided to leave Maryland and establish himself on some property he owned in Kentucky. Even in this he was unsuccessful, dying en route.

Despite the fact that, reading between the lines, *Sailor of Fortune* is the life of a great man greatly frustrated, the book is absorbing; it could not be otherwise, considering the central character and the skill of the author. It is obvious that Mr. Footner has carried out his research carefully and thoroughly and has made every effort to be fair with everyone concerned. He paints an excellent picture of the times, and the historical background before which the characters move is put in with a fine hand. There is excitement aplenty although the author has made no effort to "dress up" the accounts of battles to the detriment of the more peaceful scenes. *Sailor of Fortune* fills an all-too-empty crevice in United States history and is, in addition, delightful reading.

WILLIAM B. CRANE.

The Old Bay Line. By ALEXANDER CROSBY BROWN. Richmond, the Dietz Press, 1940. 176 pp. \$2.50.

In this year of 1940 the Baltimore Steam Packet Company, alias the Old Bay Line, celebrates an even century of continuous operation on the waters of the Chesapeake Bay and its tributaries. As the oldest steamship line in the United States it may well be proud of its tradition of service to the region through which it runs and of its general contribution to the transportation system of the country. It has reason also to be proud of Mr. Brown's volume as an eminently fitting monument to its achievements.

Only one who has himself tried it can really appreciate the enormous labor of research required in the preparation of a volume which covers so long a period in the history of an institution. Nor is the gathering of source material more than a beginning of such labor, for the gatherer must then sift it out and decide what can be used and what, for one reason or another, must be discarded. In the present instance the work has been complicated by the loss of company records by fire and flood. In spite of all these difficulties Mr. Brown has collected and collated facts from those extant, from newspapers, books, magazines, pamphlets, archives, and advertisements—an invaluable source of information for the days when journals devoted their news columns to editorial comment on world affairs and national politics—and he has turned them into a book which is not only an excellent contribution to the history of the Chesapeake Bay but also to the history of steam navigation in this country. And what is of equal merit, and of even greater difficulty, he has made it an interesting contribution.

One is apt, when dealing with such a subject, to adopt the so-called catalogue method of writing which, while it presents the facts, makes very dreary reading. *The Old Bay Line* is far from that. The book, indeed, makes one want to take the trip down the Chesapeake, or up it, in one of the "superb and commodious" steamers which are so admirably described. While the book as a whole is excellent, two chapters are outstanding. The first, which describes a trip down the Bay by a mythical Mr. Smith in the steamer *Georgia*

in 1840, more than catches the spirit of the times. The second describes the awful night of August 22, 1933 when a hurricane roared along the Chesapeake and covered its shores with wrack and ruin. Mr. Brown has had first hand experience with hurricanes, and it will be a rare reader who can go through this chapter without feeling something of the fear and the excitement of the Bay Line's passengers that night.

Mr. Brown has included a number of interesting and useful appendices, one of which lists all the vessels of the company, with the names of their builders, and other pertinent facts. There is also an excellent index. The format of the volume shows a high skill in book designing and its sixty-odd illustrations add no little to its appeal. In brief: *The Old Bay Line* is accurate, interesting, and well-dressed.

JOHN PHILIPS CRANWELL

Maryland, A Guide to the Old Line State. Compiled by workers of the Writers' Program of the Works Projects Administration in the State of Maryland. . . . New York, Oxford University Press. 561 pp. \$2.75.

Marylanders who waited—and waited—for the appearance of the much publicized *Guide* to their State were pretty much in the position, when it finally went to press, of the man who balked at the idea of tasting a radish. They were, they felt, "apt not to like it."

It is pleasant, consequently, to be able to report that, in spite of the delays and the high cost per word, the Maryland Writers' Project has produced a volume which does both it and the State genuine credit. There are some mistakes. Perhaps, under the circumstances, mistakes were inevitable. To this reviewer, at least, it seems remarkable not that there are mistakes, but that there are not more of them.

The *Guide* makes no pretensions. At the same time it covers more completely than any previous book has done the history and mores of the State from its settlement to the extraordinary bequest of a native son who, in his will, set aside several hundred thousand dollars for a university auditorium embellished with the portraits of women he had known and found beautiful. In a series of short essays the various facets which have combined to make Maryland history a maze of contradictions and to produce an *elan vitale* in a people who would rather eat than fight, but have a genius for both, are described in as much detail as is possible in a book of this type. The influence of the State's waterways on its development as a transportation center, the good business inherent in religious toleration, the lagging story of education, the hectic career of the press, the delight of the people in all that pertains to the horse and their reluctance to run after strange gods in the arts are presented as dominant colors in a mosaic whose pattern every Marylander will recognize as authentic.

No effort has been made to produce a work of literature, but there is good writing in the book, particularly in the essay on architecture. "Maryland," its author tells us, "always has glanced over its shoulder at the past, but it could adapt designs and also create them to meet local needs. Not only did the traditional Georgian Colonial style reach a high development here, but the province and early State also produced new designs of importance.

Within the limited area of Maryland there is an astonishing variety, from the spreading houses built by an almost feudal aristocracy in the mild climate of the Tidewater to stone cottages erected by mountain pioneers for shelter against winds and snows rivalling those of Vermont." One would go far to find the situation more simply or more graphically put.

Perhaps the greatest value provided by the Maryland guide book inheres in its power of suggestion. Of the great mass of information accumulated by the authors of the book only a small part could be used. Good judgment has prevailed, for the most part, in the sifting process but enough remains to fill many a volume. Reading what has been selected for presentation here should encourage all Marylanders to dig further for themselves and some to embody the results in books developing subjects treated sketchily, if at all, in the present volume.

The tours to which the rest of the book stands as a background are well planned and well "covered." The authors have been aware that there is more to each than will meet the eye and have filled in the picture with historic data and anecdote.

Considered solely as an example of book-making, the volume in every respect lives up to the high traditions of the Oxford Press. The illustrations are numerous and excellent.

KATHERINE SCARBOROUGH.

They Built the Capitol. By I. T. FRARY. Richmond, Va., Garrett & Massie [1940]. 324 pp. \$4.00.

Some writers on this subject are inclined to wade us through a century of ponderous government reports, a vast swamp like the early Washington landscape, and we flounder in the mist, hoping to scare up a Hoban or Hallet.

Not so with Mr. Frary. On this trip the sun is shining, the blackbirds singing and the tide is up, as we are poled through acres of golden butterweed; and there is a bag-limit of exciting game: Jefferson, L'Enfant, Thornton, Hadfield, Latrobe, Bulfinch and Mills.

Strange, indeed, so much remains to be written about these distinguished men; and to find such an impressive group clustered here so conveniently is like having Bramante, Raphael, the San Gallos, Peruzzi, Michael Angelo and Bernini—half the great Renaissance—under St. Peter's majestic dome.

In other, less happy, ways we are reminded of that Italian masterpiece, the histories of both buildings being replete with the miserable quarrels and misunderstandings, the exquisite pangs and agonies that beset artistic temperaments when they must compromise with politics or church.

The outlook seemed less dark while the great sympathetic hand of Jefferson was there, passing out a sketch plan for the proposed city; suggesting plans of European cities to be studied, street widths, designs suitable for public buildings, and even hinting at types for residential fronts, when Washington was still "a town of streets without houses." This versatile genius guided so many of his fellow architects and statesmen it would seem he was eminently qualified to advise on the competition for the Capitol and President's House. However, the larger portion of the undertaking fell to pieces, was abandoned and the fight began.

Half a century later control had sunk to its lowest level and anguish should have reigned supreme, only by then the designers had become construction men, specializing in mathematics and more apt to be possessed of a phlegmatic resistance to crushing. We are fortunate that Walter—with faithful Schoenborn—was able to make an iron dome look so harmonious. Probably he accomplished this only by being "a disobedient and rebellious assistant" to Captain Meigs.

The book, which at first appeared to be of the guide-book class, shows under its light and easy manner and very clear illustrations, unmistakable signs of deep study. Little of interest is omitted and the chronology, bibliography and index are so good that things are easy to find. Many items are of peculiar interest to Marylanders, not the least of them being the fact that the designs submitted in the first competition may be seen at the Maryland Historical Society. And where would we be in Baltimore if Mills and Causici, Latrobe and Capellano had not turned our way?

ADDISON F. WORTHINGTON.

"George Washington's Headquarters" in Georgetown, and Colonial Days, Rock Creek to the Falls. By BESSIE W. GAHN. [Washington, the author], 1940. 114 pp. \$1.25.

Mrs. Gahn, a member of the Daughters of the American Revolution, has for many years been interested in the little stone house at 3049 M Street in Georgetown. It has been "known throughout the generations" as the place where the plans for the city of Washington were drawn up. Forty years ago the Children of the American Revolution placed on it a marker saying that George Washington had made it his headquarters in 1791 while he was surveying the District. In 1930 Mrs. Gahn noticed "with dismay" that the marker had been removed as inaccurate, and her time since then has been given to proving the authenticity of the little house, and so removing the stigma placed upon it by "a colored organization, the Citizens Advisory Committee." She has searched the records in the District of Columbia and at Rockville, and she has had attorneys working, also. She showed her material to the Parks and Planning Commission, and to the late John C. Fitzpatrick. Fitzpatrick's knowledge of Washington was so great, and his historian's caution so lively that an unqualified endorsement by him would have put an end to discussion. He said of Mrs. Gahn's evidence that in his opinion there was no doubt that 3049 M Street had been Suter's Tavern. Washington's Diaries say more than once that he had lodged at Suter's. Fitzpatrick goes on to say, "The only evidence that will upset this conclusion [about 3049 M Street] is evidence stronger than that offered by Mrs. Gahn, and drawn from official records." Mrs. Gahn herself would be happier if the records of the Georgetown Commissioners for the period could be found. The second half of her book contains notes on early settlers along Rock Creek. The illustrations and the fact that the book has an index add to its value.

ELIZABETH MERRITT.

Society of Colonial Wars in the State of Maryland. Genealogies of the Members and Record of Services of Ancestors. Edited for the Society by FRANCIS BARNUM CULVER. Volume II. Baltimore, the Society, 1940. 398 pp. \$10.00.

This is a nicely bound and well printed book. As to the content it is evident that a great many members of this Society and their genealogists have labored long on the compilation of the data, some of them to the certain knowledge of this reviewer, and the work as a whole is gotten out under the very competent editorship of Mr. Francis B. Culver. This book is a sequel to that published by the Society in 1905 under the editorship of Dr. Christopher Johnston. A moderate number of errors has been discovered in the present work. The editor has announced that these will be dealt with in a page of "errata" which will be presented to all purchasers and owners of copies.

W. B. MARYE.

Barnes-Bailey Genealogy. Compiled by WALTER D. BARNES. Baltimore, the author, 1939. Not paged. \$5.00.

This work bears evidence of having been compiled by a competent genealogist. The first part is replete with quotations from original records. The book is concerned with the many descendants of the early settlers, Thomas Ford, George Bailey and William Barnes, and is undoubtedly a valuable contribution to our store of Maryland genealogies.

W. B. MARYE.

Cecil County, Maryland, Signers of the Oath of Allegiance Sworn by County Justices, March 2d, 1778. By MOLLIE HOWARD ASH. Elkton, the author, 1940. 41 pp. \$5.25.

The discovery in the Court House at Elkton of some dilapidated record books of handmade character led to this publication. From these original rolls, employed in taking the Oath of Allegiance in Cecil County, Miss Ash has transcribed the names of more than 1000 residents. An index is provided. The book is a noteworthy contribution to the genealogical materials of the County.

Who's Who in Maryland; A Biographical Dictionary of Leading Living Men and Women of the States of Maryland, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware and West Virginia. Vol. 1 . . . Chicago, A. N. Marquis, 1939. 1056 pp. \$12.50.

Brief sketches of nearly 2000 residents of Maryland are included in this useful work of reference which has recently been issued by the publishers of *Who's Who in America*. This is a far larger number than the parent work lists. Revisions from time to time are in view.

NOTES AND QUERIES

SWINGATE-CALVERT

Will Book #24, page 248, Annapolis. Feb. 22, 1742. Benedict Swinket (*sic*) (Swingate!) witnessed the will of Richard Tootell. On Nov. 30, 1745 Benedict Swinket ("The same person now called and known by the name of Benedict Calvert") probated this will. Dec. 13, 1745, he was referred to as "Benedict Calvert, Esq., lately Benedict Swinket"!! So in the interval between Feb. 22, 1742 and Nov. 30, 1745 Benedict Swingate became Benedict Calvert. The date of his witnessing Tootel's will shows that he was in Maryland earlier than has been hitherto thought, for he was in Anne Arundel County as early as 1742 (O. S.).

In a recent publication appears the following: "Charles, 5th Lord Baltimore, married, first, the Princess Amelia(!). Later, on July 20, 1730, he married Mary Janssen." The English law at that time prohibited the marriage of a member of the Royal family with any of lower rank. The marriage of Charles and Amelia was dissolved or annulled, because of the possibility of the Princess Amelia succeeding to the throne of England. If she had succeeded to the throne (she did not, however) and did not marry a Royal husband—or if she married a Royal husband and had no issue by him, they were afraid that Benedict might claim the throne and oust the Royal family, so the marriage of the Princess Amelia to Charles, Lord Baltimore, which was contrary to English law, was 'hushed up' and the records destroyed and the child Benedict sent to America and kept there, under the care of Dr. George Steuart of Annapolis. He was well provided for financially by his father who also gave him the beautiful estate known as 'Mt. Airy'." Now let us examine this pretty tale: to begin with H. R. H. the Princess Amelia Sophia Eleanor, daughter of King George II, was born on June 10, 1711 and so would have been thirteen years old when Benedict was allegedly born. Therefore she would have had to marry at the age of twelve, and perhaps that would have been "contrary to English law"! The Princess died, unmarried, on Oct. 31, 1786. At the time of the alleged marriage (1723/4) there was no law to prohibit such marriages of the Royal Family. The Royal Marriages Act was not even presented to the House of Lords until Feb. 21, 1772! On Feb. 26th it was read a second time and on Monday, March 2nd, the first enacting clause of the Bill was read to the House in Committee. It was passed by the Lords after a long debate the next day, the vote being 90 to 26. This was March 3, 1772, in the twelfth year of the reign of King George III. At that time Charles, Lord Baltimore, had been dead 21 years; his son and successor, Frederick, last Lord Baltimore, had passed away the preceding year, and the title had become extinct, since Charles, Lord Baltimore of this fairy tale, had no legitimate descendants in the male line. Only the Brownings and the Edens (of whom the present Anthony Eden is one) were his legitimate descendants. Perhaps it is my own fault that this fairy tale has grown to such proportions and appeared definitely in print. In my youth I once stated, anent this Benedict Swingate, later Calvert: "It is said that his mother was one of the daughters of King George II, and that therefore he did not dare divulge the secret or keep the boy in England." The "he" of this foolish statement was Charles, 5th Lord Baltimore. *Mea culpa! The Mary-*

land Journal and Advertiser for Tuesday, Jan. 15, 1788, in speaking of the death of Benedict Calvert "a few days ago in an advanced Age," causes one to wonder why a man only 64 years old, should have been called "in an advanced Age." Perhaps he was older and so born before 1724? Just how old Benedict Swingate was in 1728 when his father, still unmarried at the time and on the verge of a trip to Scandinavia, made a will and left him £2000, we have no way of figuring; but his father was then approaching his 30th year (Sept. 29th) and Benedict may have been anywhere between 4 and 10 years old.

JOHN BAILEY CALVERT NICKLIN,
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Since the foregoing was written Mr. William B. Marye has called my attention to an entry he discovered in Anne Arundel County Court Proceedings, Judgments, 1734-1736, folio 122, among the proceedings for March Court, 1736/7, as follows:

Whereas Information is made to the Court here that a Certain William Baily hath assaulted and Beaten a Certain Infant Child named Benj^a Swingate which Said Wm. Bailey being Present in Court & not denying the fact its ordered that the Sher^t take the said Baily to the Publick whipping Post & give him five Lashes for the Offence af^d and Soon after the Sher^t Returns that he has Executed the Judgm^t af^d as he was Commanded—

From this it would appear that Benedict Swingate-Calvert was in Annapolis as early as the spring of 1737 (N. S.).

J. B. C. N.

THE WICOMICO COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

With the idea of preserving for future generations a record of the development and growth of Wicomico County a group of people met to discuss the best methods to employ toward this end. The Wicomico County Historical Society had its inception immediately following the Bi-Centennial celebration of the founding of Salisbury, which took place August 8-13, 1932. A feature of the celebration was the furnishing of one of our older homes in Colonial period style, and opening it to the public each day during that week. This created such interest in the minds of our own people, as well as visitors, that a meeting was called to consider the formation of a permanent organization with the following purpose: "To foster and keep alive interest in the relics and history of Wicomico County." Seventeen persons were present at this meeting, which was presided over by Dr. William J. Holloway, general chairman of the bi-centennial committee who was elected temporary chairman of the organization, with Miss Dorothy E. Mitchell as temporary secretary. Two other meetings were held in 1932, but because of various reasons interest in the movement became dormant, and no further meetings were held until October 7, 1935. At this time interest had revived in the project, and a meeting was held with Mr. S. King White occupying the chair. It was unanimously decided by those present that a permanent organization should be set up, and a nominating committee was appointed to report on October 10. This committee submitted the following slate,

which was adopted by a unanimous vote: President, Mr. J. William Slemons, Vice-President, Mrs. Marion V. Brewington, Treasurer, Miss Florence Riley, Secretary, Miss Dorothy E. Mitchell, Acting Secretary, Mr. Elmer F. Ruark, who later became secretary following the resignation of Miss Mitchell. In his speech of acceptance, Mr. Slemons outlined very definitely the purpose of the Society, and stressed the need for such an organization in our community. At the meeting of October 21, 1935, Mr. S. King White presented a constitution to the Society, which was adopted, and which contained the following preamble: "The object and purpose of this Society shall be the collection, conservation and preservation of all data and objects of historical interest relating or pertaining to the lives, habits and customs of the settlers and all who have lived in, or had any part in building up and developing what is now Wicomico County, Maryland; to give a better knowledge of and create a greater interest in the history of Wicomico County."

Our charter membership closed on December 31, 1935, with 77 members, and many others have joined since. Our present active membership is approximately eighty. One of the greatest needs of our society was a home in which to deposit and exhibit old manuscripts, books and other articles of historic value, as well as a place in which to hold our meetings. Through the interest and co-operation of the president of the Salisbury State Teachers' College, this need has been realized, and we now occupy a large and convenient room in the college.

The first officers of the Society served for two years, and were succeeded in December, 1937 by the following: President, Mr. Elmer F. Ruark, Vice-President, Mr. William A. Sheppard, Treasurer, Mrs. G. W. D. Waller, Secretary, Mrs. J. S. Taylor. These officers served for two years, with the exception of Mrs. Taylor who resigned because of ill health and was succeeded by Mrs. Lloyd C. Hopkins.

The main achievement of the Society during the few years of its existence has been the mounting of three mural paintings on the walls of the lobby of the new federal building in Salisbury, depicting scenes from the early life of Wicomico County. This was attained largely through the unceasing efforts of J. William Slemons, first president of the Society, who labored to interest others in the completion of this project. The murals were painted by Jacob Getlar Smith, well known New York artist and recipient of the Guggenheim Fellowship, who has painted similar murals for other Federal buildings throughout the country. On September, 18, 1939, a three-fold celebration was held by the Wicomico County Historical Society. First was the dedication of the murals, second was the occupancy of our room in the State Teachers' College and third the seventy-second anniversary of the founding of Wicomico County. We were happy to have with us on this occasion the President of the Maryland Historical Society, who spoke both at the dedicatory services in the afternoon and at our regular business meeting at night, Senator George L. Radcliffe.

At our annual business meeting held in December, 1939, officers elected were as follows: President, Mrs. S. King White, Vice-President, Mr. Howard H. Ruark, Treasurer, Mr. J. Asbury Holloway and Secretary, Mrs. Gladys H. Ellis.

ELMER F. RUARK.

Sir Edmund Plowden: Family and Followers in America—Notes on the activities of Sir Edmund Plowden, patentee and would-be colonizer of New Albion (later New Jersey), who resided in Virginia 1642-1648, have been assembled by Clifford Lewis, 3rd and published with a sketch of Sir Edmund in the *William and Mary College Quarterly* for January, 1940. Mr. Lewis throws light on various persons identified at this period with the Maryland colony, including William Claiborne, Robert Evelyn, Richard Thompson, Henry Fleet, the Eltonheads and Plowdens. Particular interest attaches to this study by reason of the service afforded the author by the unpublished volume of "Virginia Records" prepared more than 70 years ago by Sebastian F. Streeter, first secretary of the Maryland Historical Society. This volume from Judge Henry Stockbridge's estate was presented to the Society in 1930 by Mrs. Stockbridge.

Indian Remains at Piscattaway—"An Ossuary Near Piscattaway Creek," by Alice L. L. Ferguson, and "A Report on the Skeletal Remains," by T. D. Stewart, are the leading articles in the July, 1940, number of *American Antiquity*, the magazine of the Society for American Archaeology. The very valuable work performed by Mrs. Ferguson in laying bare the site of an important prehistoric Indian town on Potomac River below the mouth of Piscattaway Creek is already well known. Mrs. Ferguson has now turned her attention to the business of discovering the historic Indian town of Piscattaway, and with remarkable success. For an expert opinion on the skeletal remains which she has uncovered she has had the able assistance of Dr. Stewart. This article is well illustrated with photographs showing, among other matters, many articles of European manufacture recovered from the site, which, taken in conjunction with other circumstances, leave no doubt as to its identity. Of outstanding interest are some eighteen small, copper jetons or medalettes, which once formed part of a necklace. Each one is stamped with a rose crossed by a thistle and surmounted with a crown. According to a report of the Department of Coins and Medals of the British Museum they were issued between 1630 and 1640 in the reign of Charles I and were used as admission pieces to the ceremony of the King's Touch. The history of Maryland is rarely illuminated by discoveries so interesting as these at Piscattaway.

WILLIAM B. MARYE

John Hanson Nominated for the Hall of Fame—John Hanson, first President of the United States in Congress assembled under the Articles of Confederation, who was born on April 13, 1721, in Charles County and lived near Frederick, has been nominated for election this autumn to the Hall of Fame of New York University. A number of Colonial and other patriotic societies have endorsed the nomination of Hanson for election to the Hall of Fame. Mrs. Elizabeth Colton Ewing is president of the John Hanson Society of Maryland, Inc. and Mr. W. N. Morell is secretary.

Taney and Key Nominated for the Hall of Fame—The names of Roger Brooke Taney and Francis Scott Key have been proposed for election to the Hall of Fame of New York University by Hon. Edward S. Delaplaine, Associate Judge of the Maryland Court of Appeals, author and member of the Society. The nominations have been seconded by a large group of attorneys-at-law, including Federal and State jurists in eighteen states, Governors O'Connor and Moore, of New Jersey, Frank J. Hogan and Edwin M. Borchard. Announcement of the results of the balloting is expected in the early fall.

Gist Papers—Mrs. Branford Gist Lynch of Westminster has given to the Hall of Records her collection of valuable Gist family papers. This collection includes several hundred originals as well as copies of Gist papers to be found elsewhere. There is also a manuscript history of the Gist family written by Mrs. Lynch which is being typed at the Hall. One copy will be retained at Annapolis, and another will be deposited at the Maryland Historical Society. The original papers are being arranged and catalogued and will be available to researchers early in the Fall.

Gale—Information is desired concerning Rasin ("Reese") Gale, who probably was born in Kent County, Maryland. He married Miss (—?) Hines. Their children: 1. Harrison Gale. 2. (—?) Gale; she married a Mr. Kirby who lived at Queenstown, Queen Anne's County. 3. (—?) Gale; she married a Mr. Riley. 4. Wilhelmina Gale; she married a Mr. Boyer. 5. John M. Gale.

PERCY G. SKIRVEN,
19 South Street, Baltimore.

Sewall—For an article in preparation I should appreciate information regarding the wife and children of Henry⁴ Sewall (Clement⁵, Major Nicholas³, Henry¹). I am particularly desirous of knowing the lineage of John Sewall, who married Nancy Cummings of Talbot County in 1797.

Professor HENRY DAVID GRAY,
Stanford University, Calif.



GENERAL WASHINGTON, HIS AIDES AND WOUNDED PRISONER.

Detail from John Trumbull's Painting,
"Capture of the Hessians at Trenton, December 26, 1776."

Robert Hanson Harrison is the mounted figure behind Washington's outstretched hand. The other aides are Tench Tilghman and William Smith of New York, who supports the Hessian, Colonel Rahl. As adjutant to the General, the artist was in close association with Harrison at this time.

Courtesy of the Gallery of Fine Arts, Yale University.